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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 October 1982

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ALBANIA

LEADERS GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU081907 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Comrades Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and president of the DPRK; and Yi Chong-ok, chairman of the Administrative Council of the DPRK:

On the occasion of your national day, in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as well as personally, we convey to you and to the Korean people greetings and best wishes.

During these 34 years since the founding of the DPRK, the Korean people have, through their tireless efforts, further developed their economy and culture and have constantly strengthened the defense of their country. The Albanian people rejoice in the considerable achievements of the Korean people and wish them further successes in the progress and prosperity of the DPRK.

We take this opportunity to once again express the support of the Albanian people for the efforts and struggle of the Korean people to obtain the departure of the U.S. imperialists from South Korea and for the country's independent reunification.

May the friendly relations between our two peoples and countries continue to develop in the future.

CSO: 2100/87

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

TURKISH AMBASSADOR CREDENTIALS PRESENTED--Haxh Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Selcuk Toker, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials. The ceremony was attended by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Piro Biti, head of a directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU091848 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 82]

CSO: 2100/87

EDITORIAL DEVOTED TO 'SHIELD-82' WARSAW PACT EXERCISE IN BULGARIA

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Sep 82 p 1

[Editorial: "United in Peace and Combat"]

[Text] As announced, a training exercise with staffs, troops and forces of the fleets of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact participant states, under the code designation of "Shield-82," will be held from 25 September to 1 October 1982 in the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic and adjacent Black Sea water area under the direction of Minister of National Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Army General Dobri Dzhurov.

Under the slogan, "United in peace and combat for the protection of the cause of socialism," the fraternal socialist countries and their armies will inscribe a new page in the splendid traditions of friendship and brotherhood-in-arms. In the course of the training exercise, questions of combat assembly and cooperation between the staffs and troops of the allied armies will be rehearsed.

For more than 27 years now the Warsaw Pact has demonstrated in practice that it is a powerful alliance of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, called upon to protect the great cause of socialism and peace. Created in response to the imperialistic, militarily aggressive NATO bloc, the Warsaw Pact differs radically in respect of its class character and purposes from the military alliances and blocs of the imperialist powers. Its peace-loving and defensive character results from the fact that it represents an alliance between socialist states which have no aggressive purposes and intentions and are an unshakeable buttress of peace in the world and the progressive development of mankind.

The leaders of the socialist countries have always declared that they are ready to terminate its existence once a system of collective security is created in Europe and the aggressive NATO bloc is disbanded. The socialist states have not [word illegible; possibly, unleashed] a single war. To their credit, during the time that these states have existed, many imperialist adventures have been averted.

United around the Soviet Army, the socialist armed forces are a reliable bastion of peace and security of our peoples. As is known, the most important

prerequisite for the successful implementation of the policy of the fraternal parties, aimed at the welfare of their peoples, is the preservation and strengthening of peace and security. This is the most important question of our times. All mankind needs peace; without it, the progress of our beautiful planet is inconceivable.

The socialist countries are confidently proceeding towards realization of the goals they have charted out which serve the cause of peace and social progress. Of fundamental significance along these lines is the military strategic equilibrium established between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Without equilibrium, peace cannot be saved and the nations would be threatened with nuclear annihilation. But the imperialist circles are not reconciled to this. Through their fault and, above all, through the fault of the U.S. administration the international situation has become complicated and exacerbated. Imperialism is feverishly rearming. It is creating new weapons systems; it is even declaring outer space to be its firing range. Neutron bombs and "shuttles," winged missiles and neutron projectiles, tremendous submarine, surface and air fleets, military budgets of unprecedented size, rapid-reaction corps, foci of tension, and new bases--this is the gist of today's American strategy. Total economic, political and every other kind of pressure against our world lies at the bottom of its present policy. Behind its hypocritical words about the strengthening of peace, the United States is preparing intensively for war. The means it selects--from crude intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states to espionage and diplomatic provocation--are not the ones for its goals. The events in Poland, the Falklands crisis, the tension in Nicaragua and Salvador, the war of extermination against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, prepared openly before the eyes of the whole world under the auspices of the United States and unleashed by Israel, are only a small part of the United States' shameful policy.

The battle for peace now is a battle for the future of the planet. The countries of the socialist community are doing everything possible to preserve it. The proof of this is the peaceful program of the CPSU and Soviet Government. The importance of the initiatives proposed in recent years by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Organization is also exceptionally great. Many of these have been grounded in great international formulas or reflected in a number of bilateral international documents. The Warsaw Pact countries have every reason to pit their heightened vigilance and decisive measures for strengthening their defensive power against the aggressive plans of imperialism.

The joint training exercise "Shield-82" will demonstrate once more how servicemen of the socialist countries under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties implement the doctrine, created by V. I. Lenin, of the collective defense of socialist society. Once more it will graphically and convincingly confirm the high combat readiness of the armed forces of the socialist defensive alliance, the efficiency and reliability of combat materiel, the high ability of personnel, the skill of commanders and staffs.

Joint training exercises enrich the military skill of the socialist armies and contribute to improvement of the organization of cooperation and the control

of allied troops. Commanders and political organizers utilize joint training exercises for the exchange of experience in combat and political training and for the increase of rated specialists and experts in military science. In the course of such training exercises the comradely relations between the servicemen of the allied armed forces gain in strength and develop; their friendship- and brotherhood-in-arms, their mutual confidence and respect rise to a new and higher degree.

There is no doubt that the impending "Shield-82" training exercise will be such a manifestation of the indestructible friendship of the soldiers of fraternal armies and evidence of their high expertise. Acting in the spirit of socialist internationalism and brotherhood-in-arms, they will have the opportunity to become increasingly better acquainted and increasingly to strengthen their unity and solidarity.

The participants in the training exercise will have many encounters with the Bulgarian population. This will enable the soldiers of the allied armies to become better acquainted with the working people of our socialist homeland, with our successes in building socialism, and with the problems which our people are now successfully solving in order to fulfill the plans of the 12th BCP Congress, as well as enable them to tell about the achievements in building socialism in their own countries.

For us Bulgarians this training exercise is of special importance, since it is being conducted in the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Just as every other time, the Bulgarian people will do their patriotic and international duty now, too. The participation of soldiers of all the allied countries evokes sincere joy and great pride in us. The Bulgarian people, in keeping with the old Slav custom, will meet with bread and salt their faithful allies and brothers-in-arms in ideas, class and weapons. They will vividly manifest their unity around the sound Marxist-Leninist international policy of the Bulgarian Community Party.

Bulgarian soldiers well understand their role and responsibility for the further strengthening of the socialist community's defensive power. Realistically they take into account that the aggressive imperialist circles are not giving up their military preparations and designs. Under these conditions it is the patriotic and international duty of Bulgarian soldiers--in close alliance with the legendary and invincible Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact countries, and with high political awareness and ideological conviction--to improve their military skills and battle conditioning and to heighten their patriotic vigilance and combat readiness.

The strenuous days of the soldiers participating in the "Shield-82" training exercise will pass under the slogan, "United in peace and combat for the protection of the cause of socialism." With honor they will successfully pass the final examination of their combat maturity and their readiness to perform their international duty.

The "Shield-82" training exercise will be fully consonant with the unswerving striving of the socialist countries to strengthen peace and security in Europe and the world.

BULGARIA

TOASTS DELIVERED BY BULGARIAN, CZECH PREMIERS IN PRAGUE

Filipov Toast

AU071420 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 82 p 5

[Toast of Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers at 1 September Prague dinner in his honor given by Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Strougal, dear CSSR friends, comrades, I have accepted with great satisfaction the invitation extended by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to pay a friendly working visit to your country, for which I most cordially thank him. Visiting friends is always a pleasure. I take this opportunity to express sincere thanks to the comrades accompanying me, thanks for the great attention and the warm reception which we have received immediately upon our arrival in Czechoslovakia. We feel as though we are really among brothers, true friends and comrades here.

Comrades, there is no doubt that our meeting today is another expression of the traditional fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation, which links the BCP and the CPCZ, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the CSSR, our two Slav nations. This friendship and cooperation are being created and developed on the well-tried principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, on the firm foundation of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. Not even our enemies can deny the fact that between our Marxist-Leninist parties there exists a complete unity on all fundamental questions of socialist construction and the international communist and workers movement and when it comes to assessing the fundamental problems of the international situation. This fills us with pride and gives us the right to declare that everything unites us and nothing divides us.

Comrades, for two decades now the development of Bulgarian-Czechoslovak relations is automatically connected in all spheres with the names and untiring activity of our highest party and state representatives--Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Gustav Husak. Their regular meetings are true milestones on the path of our all-round cooperation.

Our nations are linked by thousands of bonds and with every passing year they learn to know one another better, they are drawing together. The latest demonstration of fraternal relations are the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of Bulgaria, passionate internationalist and selfless fighter for the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas, who was a great friend of the Czechoslovak working people. We are grateful to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR National Front Central Committee, the social organizations, the information media and to all who contributed to the dignified course of the celebrations of this important anniversary.

Esteemed Comrade Strougal, comrades, the meetings of the representatives of the governments of our two countries have become a tradition. They are friendly and at the same time working meetings. They always have a cordial comradely atmosphere and are marked by mutual understanding. Also our present talks are being held in precisely such a pleasant and creative atmosphere.

I want to note with great satisfaction that we have unanimously highly assessed the Bulgarian-Czechoslovak relations and at the same time expressed the common opinion that what we have accomplished is not the limit yet. This applies to all spheres, but especially to economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Bulgaria's and Czechoslovakia's economic potential creates objective prerequisites for constant development and progress in this important sphere. Here we also see the great role of the subjective factor. This presupposes with an even greater energy and purposefulness that we continue our common endeavor for making a better use of new possibilities to further perfect specialization and production cooperation, deepen scientific-technical cooperation, and enrich these relations by new, more progressive and more effective forms. There is no doubt that our talks today will be a contribution in that respect.

Esteemed Comrade Strougal, dear Czechoslovak comrades, in our country we follow with attention and interest the construction efforts of the working people in fraternal Czechoslovakia who--under the experienced leadership of the CPCZ--are implementing the tasks of further building an advanced socialist society in your country set by the 16th CPCZ Congress. Together with you we rejoice over your every success as if it were our own. Dear friends, we wish you from the bottom of our hearts new successes on the path to the noble goals of communism.

Like their Czechoslovak brothers, also the working people in our country are untiringly working to implement the tasks set by the 12th BCP Congress. We pay particularly great attention to the intensive development of our economy, to constantly raising the effectiveness of material production. On this basis we are resolving the fundamental socioeconomic tasks set by the 12th party congress--to more comprehensively and better satisfy the material, social and spiritual needs of the people.

There is no doubt that the successes of our two countries accomplished in the construction of socialism are inseparably linked with their belonging to the CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. Therefore we are doing and will do everything possible to expand and deepen socialist economic integration, a matter that is in the interest of the socialist community and in the interest of socialism and peace in the world.

Comrade, the bellicose, imperialist U.S. circles and their NATO allies, who scorn the clearly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of mankind to live in peace and harmony have again embarked upon the path of confrontation and war preparations. They are unbelievably aggravating the arms race, systematically creating new hotbeds of tension in the world. The situation in the Middle East has become dangerously aggravated recently. We resolutely condemn the aggressive policy of genocide practiced by Tel Aviv against the Arab people of Palestine. The crimes of Israeli militarists are a provocation vis-a-vis all progressive mankind. We fully support the Soviet proposals for the convocation of an international conference to resolve the Middle East problems, which would be attended by all interested parties, including the representatives of the Palestinian people.

No soberly thinking person can deny that the only sensible way to avoid the danger of a destructive thermonuclear war are negotiations and not confrontation. Therefore we have adopted as our own the CPSU's peace program, which clearly shows the path to halting the arms race, to disarmament and peaceful cooperation among nations. For that reason we fully support all Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's peace proposals and will continue to contribute to averting war and strengthening peace. Our unceasing efforts and endeavors for the Balkans to become a region without nuclear weapons, a zone of peace, of good neighborly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation are the expression of our country's peace-loving foreign policy.

At the end I would like once more to express my firm conviction that the talks which we conduct with you will contribute to the further deepening of fraternal friendship and close cooperation between our parties, countries and nations.

Please allow me to propose a toast:

-- to the health of Comrades Gustav Husak and Todor Zhivkov, our first party and state leaders!

-- to the further comprehensive successes in constructing the developed socialist society in the CSSR and to the prosperity of the CSSR people!

-- to the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our countries and peoples!

-- to the indestructible friendship and cooperation with the fraternal USSR and the other socialist community countries!

-- to the health of our dear host, Comrade Lubomir Strougal and all those attending the dinner! Cheers!

Strougal Toast

AU071414 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 82 p 5

[Toast of Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Council of Ministers, at 1 September Prague dinner in honor of Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Filipov, dear Bulgarian friends, comrades, I welcome you once again in the capital of socialist Czechoslovakia in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee, in the name of its general secretary and president of the republic and in the name of the federal government. I would like to extend special greetings to Comrade Grisha Filipov, who is for the first time our guest as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

We are meeting in Prague in its summer colors, in the year in which we have, along with you, commemorated the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov, great son of the Bulgarian people, distinguished representative of the workers movement, antifascist and revolutionary who--as Klement Gottwald's comrade-in-arms and friend--embodied also the best aspirations of the Czech and Slovak nations. We gladly call to mind the fact that the signatures of these two leading representatives of our communist parties which adorn the first treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria serve as a proof that the Slav togetherness of the ancient past has turned into the class-based brotherhood of today. To use Comrade Gustav Husak's succinct words, "The relations of Czechoslovak-Bulgarian friendship and alliance are more firm and multifaceted today than at any point in the past."

Esteemed comrade chairman of the Council of Ministers, during every meeting with Bulgarian friends we realize what gigantic progress your country has made in the period of building socialism. We admire the results of your modern industry and efficient agriculture but also the boom of culture and arts, which beautify your present and give the people existential security, along with the joy derived from the truly fulfilled life of the socialist epoch. We follow with interest but also study the remarkable results of the new economic mechanism being applied in your country. The weight of these words of admiration and recognition for the work of your communist party and industrious people is all the greater as the whole Czechoslovak public has arrived at this recognition.

We are filled with pride that the successes of the fraternal country are, at least to a small degree, also our deed. After all, throughout the post-war period, Bulgaria has been closely linked with our republic as a firm member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, which means that there is literally no area in which we do not cooperate, do not help and effectively complement each other.

This is especially true of the latest period when the party and state delegations on the highest level have determined, during their regular meetings, the paths of our dynamic cooperation for the subsequent periods. This happened during the last such meeting in Prague in October 1979, when we greeted here your delegation led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. And it will happen again in a few weeks' time when a Czechoslovak delegation led by Comrade Gustav Husak will pay a visit to Sofia.

We are happy that we are able to declare that the past few years have been particularly fruitful. Political contacts but also scientific and cultural exchange have reached an unprecedented scale. Particularly gratifying is the fact that this is due not only to politicians, scientists, artists and journalists but also to ordinary people. The process of getting to know each other has become a matter concerning the broad masses and forms a firm foundation of our internationalist reciprocity.

Our economic cooperation, which has acquired a new, truly dynamic dimension, too, is undeniably multifaceted. We have long ago ceased to develop mere trade exchange. Progressive forms of cooperation are now on the agenda. Specialization and production sharing have an important share in them--Bulgaria is our second largest partner in the socialist community in this respect. Production sharing no longer concerns only the Liaz and Madara enterprises but a whole number of enterprises in diverse branches. In the future, our attention will be oriented in this direction.

We would like to achieve an even more marked growth in the economic effectiveness of mutual exchange within the framework of specialization and production sharing. It seems that the time has come when we can join our potentials in new ways. I am thinking, in particular, of the field of scientific and technical cooperation but also of joint ventures on third markets. We want to try harder in all those areas in which, for various reasons, we have not been successful so far.

CEMA, is all-encompassing activities, its effectiveness and, above all, its efficiency are of fundamental importance for both countries and their development. It is no accident that both our countries underline new needs but also forms of the council's activity, forms that will lead, aside from beneficial division of labor, also to effective integration and will ensure top technical and technological standards of production, in defiance of the recent discriminatory attempts of the West. When we work on the necessary level and really combine the potentials of our advanced economies, these reactionary plans will fail once again.

Comrades, given the state of the world around us, there is hardly any reason to rejoice. The attempts of some Western circles, especially the present U.S. administration, to restrict political dialogue, impede economic cooperation and provoke confrontation on the basis of military supremacy have brought the world to the brink of an abyss. The unprecedented pursuit of armaments and the modern war concepts jeopardize not only the socialist community but the whole planet.

The latest developments in Lebanon are a proof of these warmongering efforts, of the endeavor to foist on the world the imperialist way of solving problems from the position of strength. The aggressive attack of Israel, unscrupulously justified and supported by the United States and directed against a peace-loving state and the Palestinian people, has again confirmed how seriously meant are the threats we repeatedly hear from Washington. These threats are addressed, above all, to the socialist community.

At a moment when the world has found itself at a crossroads and when its survival is at stake, we draw our certainty and security from the unity, cohesion but also from the strength of our community. Against the policy of threats and confrontation we offer the only reasonable alternative, the alternative of coexistence and detente, which the world learned to appreciate in the seventies. That is why we wholeheartedly support the peace-loving and consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the latest initiatives submitted by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the congresses of the trade unions and the Komsomol, as well as in the message to the UN General Assembly second special session of disarmament. Not war but peace, not confrontation but negotiations, not armament but disarmament--that is our program. It is the program of people of good will all over the world.

Esteemed Comrade Filipov, comrades, I am deeply convinced that our Prague meeting will contribute to our countries' cooperation and, at the same time, will make a certain contribution to the global struggle for maintaining peace and averting war.

With this positive thought I would like to propose a toast:

-- to the indestructible friendship between the BCP and the CPCZ!

-- to the fraternal cooperation between our peoples!

-- to the firm alliance of all countries of the socialist community with the USSR!

-- to the health of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and state council chairman!

-- to the health of Comrade Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

-- to your health, comrades!

CSO: 2200/147

BULGARIA

HUNGARIAN LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE REPORTED

AU141023 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, the Presidium and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian people we send you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the fraternal Bulgarian people our sincere and best wishes on the 38th anniversary of the victory of the Bulgarian socialist and your country's liberation.

Our people follow very closely the construction of the developed socialist society in fraternal Bulgaria and admire with sincere recognition the results achieved by the Bulgarian people led by the BCP in developing your country. We are confident that your successes are a contribution to the cause of multiplying the forces of the socialist community, strengthening international security and defending peace. We highly value the fact that the Hungarian-Bulgarian relations are fruitfully developing in all areas of life, within the framework of the fraternal parties' alliance, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Our joint activity in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, which serves the cause of strengthening the traditional and fraternal friendship between our peoples and the interests of socialism, social progress and peace, is an important factor in the broad range of our countries' cooperation.

On the day of Bulgaria's national holiday we wish you and Bulgaria's working people from the bottom of our hearts new successes in the construction of the developed socialist society, as well as successes in the economy, in science and culture and in increasing the material and spiritual prosperity of the Bulgarian people.

CSO: 2200/153

DPRK'S KIM IL-SONG SENDS NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

AU141022 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received the following telegram from Kim Il-song, secretary general of the KWP [Korean Workers Party] Central Committee and president of the DPRK:

On behalf of the KWP Central Committee, the DPRK Government, the Korean people and on my own personal behalf, I send you and through you the BCP Central Committee, the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the fraternal Bulgarian people warmest greetings and wishes on the 38th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was an epochal event of great importance in the history of the Bulgarian people.

Since the victory of the socialist revolution and until today, the Bulgarian people have carried on an energetic struggle for building the new life, thus turning Bulgaria into a socialist state of developed industry, modern agriculture and a prospering and developing culture.

Today your people, under the leadership of the BCP led by you, have made great progress in the struggle for fulfilling the new 5-year plan set forth by the 12th BCP Congress.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you and the fraternal Bulgarian people new and even greater successes in the struggle for constructing the developed socialist society.

I take this opportunity to express my confidence that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, governments and peoples, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will further expand and develop in the course of our common struggle against imperialism and for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

CSO: 2200/153

BULGARIA

LAO LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS REPORTED

AU141018 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, have received the following telegram from Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and premier of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Souphanouvong, president of the republic and of the People's Supreme Assembly:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the LPRP, the People's Supreme Assembly, the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people we send you our warmest greetings and wishes on the 38th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, and, through you, we greet the BCP, the National Assembly, the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the fraternal Bulgarian people.

Following the road of socialism the Bulgarian people, under the BCP leadership and with the active assistance of the USSR and close cooperation with the socialist community countries, succeeded in overcoming all difficulties and reached brilliant successes in socialist construction, constantly improving the population's material and spiritual life and increasing the role and prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the international arena.

These successes also made a significant contribution to strengthening the socialist community and defending peace and security in the Balkans, Europe and the world. We are confident that the fraternal Bulgarian people under the wise leadership of the BCP led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov will achieve even greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and in constructing the developed socialist society in their motherland.

On this occasion the LPRP, the People's Supreme Assembly of the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people wish you good health, and the Bulgarian people new and even greater successes in the construction and progress of socialist Bulgaria.

May the relations of friendship and close cooperation between our parties, governments and peoples constantly develop.

CSO: 2200/153

MONGOLIAN LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

AU141042 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 82 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal, secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee, and Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Great People's Hural, the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic and the entire Mongolian people we send you, and through you the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the entire Bulgarian people fraternal greetings and warm wishes on the 38th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

On 9 September 1944 the Bulgarian people, with the decisive help of the Soviet Army, overthrew the fascist yoke and the monarchic dictatorship and embarked on the road of socialist development, the goal selflessly fought for by the prominent Bulgarian revolutionaries. The Bulgarian people led by the BCP, in close cooperation with the countries of the socialist community has turned Bulgaria into a developed socialist country in a historically short span of time and is continuing now to achieve new successes in the further development of the economy and culture and in increasing the material well-being of their country.

Being a strong link of the socialist community and a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making an important contribution to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries and increasing the power of world socialism. It is conducting a consistent peaceful foreign policy and invariably stands for strengthening and expanding international detente and strengthening peace and security in Europe and the entire world.

We note with deep satisfaction that the relations of fraternal friendship and close and fruitful cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are strengthening and expanding every

year. Their vital power lies in the unity and close cooperation between the MPRP and the BCP.

On this remarkable day we cordially wish you, dear comrades, and, through you, the entire fraternal Bulgarian people new successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and in constructing the developed socialist society on Bulgarian soil.

CSO: 2200/153

BULGARIA

VIETNAMESE LEADERS' NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

AU141040 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 82 p 7

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, have received the following telegram from Le Duan, secretary general of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV State Council, Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly:

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Communist Party, the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the SRV and on our personal behalf we send you and through you the fraternal Bulgarian people, the BCP, the National Assembly and the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria most cordial greetings on the 38th anniversary of Bulgaria's national holiday.

During the past 30 years, the Bulgarian people, under the leadership of the glorious BCP, with industry and creativity and in close alliance and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, have achieved great successes in constructing socialism, and have turned Bulgaria into a country with a modern industry and agriculture, advanced science and technology and constant material and cultural upsurge. As a result of these great achievements and of its peaceful foreign policy and international cooperation the People's Republic of Bulgaria is becoming an ever more important factor in strengthening peace and security in the Balkans and Europe, and is making an active contribution to strengthening the power of the socialist system in the common struggle of the world peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people rejoices with and is proud of the brilliant achievements of the Bulgarian people, and wishes them new and even greater successes in constructing the developed socialist society in their beautiful motherland under the leadership of the BCP, headed by the respected Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

We note with great satisfaction that the friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states and peoples, based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and on the treaty of friendship and

cooperation between the SRV and the People's Republic of Bulgaria are strengthening and developing daily.

On this occasion we express our deep gratitude for the assistance and help in the spirit of the proletarian internationalism, rendered by the Bulgarian party, state and people to the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause.

May the relations of fraternal friendship, combat solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states and peoples daily strengthen and develop along an ascending line.

CSO: 2200/153

ON POPE'S DECREE FORBIDDING POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 28, 11 Jul 82 pp 1, 4

Reaction of Pacem in Terris

[Text] In the current period of heightened international tensions, all peace-loving people without distinction must dedicate all their energy, knowledge and positive moral values to the preservation of life and strengthening of peace, to the prevention of the most terrible catastrophe which would lead to the most massive destruction and greatest damage to the health of not only this but future generations.

Motivated by these considerations, the Catholic Clergy Association, Pacem in Terris, reviewed its more than 30-year-old pastoral service to peace, in which there was participation from the outset by priests, along with their bishops and ordinaries. At the present time, we are even more convinced that efforts to preserve the sacred gift of life is not only in harmony with priestly institutions, but also an integral part of the priestly calling. Within the holy church, people--along with those who have been entrusted with the service of leadership--have been striving to preserve peace and life on earth.

In priestly and fraternal unity with their bishops, ordinaries and the church as a whole, the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, recognizes life as a gift from God which must be led jointly and responsibly under the principles of justice and love. This timely service in the name of life and peace, convincingly justifies the existence of the priestly peace movement Pacem in Terris and spurs it toward ever more determined endeavor, since it is beneficial to the church and the homeland, and contributes to the strengthening of peace.

It is this motive which led to the preparation of the letter which follows, addressed to bishops and ordinaries of Czech and Slovak dioceses with the request that they support this noble effort as confirmation that our road is the right one, that with their pastoral

blessing we might increasingly live up to the truth of "blessed are those who bring peace, for they will be called the sons of God" (Matthew 5.9)

Most Reverend Father Ordinary,

In filial respect in your paternal understanding, we are turning to you in this critical time for the life and work of the church in our contemporary society, in full awareness of our joint responsibility for the Lord's people entrusted into our care through the labors of the bishops and ordinaries.

Striving to correctly interpret the omens of the times, in sincere desire to live up to the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council, led by our love for the Lord, the church and country, we wish to bring the truth into all that has been bruited about the activity of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, especially following the return of the most reverend bishops from Rome.

Even though all CSSR priests have not yet been notified officially that the Holy Congregation for the Priesthood had issued a proclamation under which Roman Catholic priests are forbidden to participate in certain associations, organizations and movements, an interpretation containing inaccuracies and lacking precision with respect to the substance and interest of such associations, has been disseminated. As a result, there are some among us who, due to lack of information, spread thoughtless statements on the participation of our priests in activities on behalf of peace and the well-being of our society. Guided by the interests of their sacramental brethren, representatives of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, respectfully request that the most reverend bishops and ordinaries, as caring Fathers who labor for the good of the Church and the Lord's people living in this society, thoughtfully continue in the resolution of this problem as well. The activist tradition of Roman Catholic priests in our country relates to their beneficial past as patriots ever since the dawn of our history. From the earliest time of the peace movement, our most reverend bishops and ordinaries have actively participated in its important assemblies.

After WW II, social systems underwent historic changes. Our church and the believers, in it, along with all religious life, were confronted with a changed spiritual and political situation. Under these impulses toward the resolution of the role and future activity of the Catholic Church in our country, discussions between the church and the state began in 1948-49. Despite some hopeful initial signals, these were aborted and there followed a sterile and dangerous period of time. Following various measures as a result of which the most reverend ordinaries found themselves in inactive isolation, the clergy began an initiative search for ways which would lead the church and the believers out of this isolation and atmosphere of mistrust. There were still manifestations of unhealthy mentality, such as when some priests retreated into passivity and others went abroad, leaving their flocks without spiritual care. There also appeared certain reckless statements on the so-called Czechoslovak autonomous church, similar to what had occurred after World War I. There was a need for the priests to take a joint position against these dangerous phenomena, to reject extremes and preserve their identity as Christ's pastors dedicated and faithful to the church.

There is no doubt that the activist stance of the Catholic clergy during that period and in the years which followed, helped resolve the problems of the existence and role of the church in our country. Much has been achieved through a joint, positive approach. Work was resumed in the Czech and Slovak Caritas, in the Society of St. Vojtech, seminaries and religious facilities were reopened in Bohemia and Slovakia, the Catholic press reappeared, and the activity of health care, recreational and physical education institutions became livelier. President Klement Gottwald on 29 October 1949, amnestied 127 priests who had allowed themselves in the postwar years to be misled into hazardous political activity.

Slowly but surely, an atmosphere of trust emerged in which priests in the Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy, while conscientiously attending to their pastoral obligations, could not ignore the new situation because they realized that their spiritual mission could not be accomplished in a vacuum, but rather had to be adapted to concrete historical realities. Our aim was to show that the church is capable of grasping and accepting positively all that had been accomplished here for the well-being of the individual and for peace at home and in the world. Furthermore, the clergy demonstrated through its activist stand that it is not pursuing political goals, nor personal ambition, but that it truly serves Christ's joyful revelation. Those were the factors which gradually created an atmosphere of trust between the church and our society.

Following the unhealthy stagnation during 1968-69, the clergy recognized the need for a joint and unified approach in pointing out errors and new dangers which could arise from a type of politicized catholicism. Consequently, they founded the Association of Catholic Clergy, *Pacem in Terris*. Its very name indicates that today's priests wish to master and popularize the heritage of the unforgettable Pope John XXIII, an apostle of peace and cooperation among all people of good will.

The charter of the Association of Catholic Clergy, *Pacem in Terris* (henceforth Association), states: "The association is a voluntary social and interest movement. It unites Catholic priests who, in faithful fulfillment of their pastoral duties, engage in social activity, in an effort to strengthen peace and friendship among nations, in the defense of legitimate spiritual interests and needs" (p 2).

The sources of the Association's inspiration are papal encyclicals and documents of the Council: *Pacem in Terris*, *Progressio popularum*, *Lumen gentium*, *Gaudium et spes*, *Presbyterorum ordinis*.

The aim of the Association has always been and continues to be to build and maintain unity among priests and help them to orient themselves in the intricate problems of contemporary life, to create an atmosphere of trust between the church and state, and to jointly examine and evaluate the character of our times, in order to make our pastoral duties and the evangelical character of the believers reflect the new conditions in the society and state of today.

The Association clearly proclaimed that "in full respect for the ordinaries' rank, the Association recognizes their jurisdiction." Our position stems from the belief that our most reverend bishops and ordinaries with whom we are united in the same priesthood and service--which we especially emphasize--will consider "priests their

brothers and friends whom they will talk and listen to in mutual consultation" (Concepts, pp 4 and 5, with reference to the Decree on Priesthood, No 7).

Following informative meetings with the clergy in late 1970 in all okreses and krajs, the following announcement appeared on 17 January 1971 in the Slovak KATOLICKE NOVINY: "On 8 January 1971, there was a meeting in Bratislava of the preparatory committee of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, in Slovakia. The meeting finalized preparations for the convocation of an all-Slovak founding convention. The preparatory committee noted with gratitude the positive stance of the corps of Slovak ordinaries toward the association, which they had expressed at their 7 January 1971 meeting in Bratislava.

The corps of Czech ordinaries had been advised of the planned establishment of the Association, and responded as follows from their 29 December 1970 conference of Czech and Moravian bishops and capitular vicars, held in Brno: "We note that the planned interest association Pacem in Terris is voluntary and concerns itself with the civic sphere. We expect, however, that members will always act as priests of their Church. Consequently, we do not consider it our duty to intervene in the matter of priests' membership in the association. We maintain our paternal relationship with all priests, and assess them on the basis of their work and life, as well as on other areas. We will evaluate the new Association on its work and on how it contributes to the consolidation of good relations between the state and the Church" (Czech KATOLICKE NOVINY, no. 2 1971, p 3).

The Reverend Bishop Stefan Trochta also thanked for the greeting sent to him by the founding assembly of the Association's Czech branch. Bishop Trochta stated: "Dear brothers, I note with understanding that you wish to serve with me the Lord's people and the cause of truth and love in the spirit of the Church Council documents, in the common vineyard of the Lord, under conditions of a socialist society. May your work in this area bear good fruit (Czech KATOLICKE NOVINY, no. 42, 1971).

With this proclamation, the most reverend bishops and ordinaries not only noted the activist initiative of the clergy, but also formally approved the priests' endeavor for peace. Their frequent presence at many peace demonstrations has lent us support in our work for the greatest good of mankind--for peace. We have always been proud that all our incumbent most reverend bishops and ordinaries work in the peace movement with us the faithful and dedicated priests of the Church and our country.

May we be permitted in all respect in which we hold our superiors to note that the highest church representatives have never voiced any concrete objections or criticism of the Association. The latter is not aware in its work of any transgression against church authority, not that it might have been a hindrance in the execution of church jurisdiction. On the contrary, in organizing seminars and peace symposia on the encyclical Pacem in Terris and Pope John Paul II's latest encyclicals "Redemptor hominis" and "Dies in misericordia," the Association tried to bring the priests' mission and responsibilities closer to the contemporary man and woman. We wish to assist in the search for such forms of priestly peace and civic involvement which has nothing in common with political organizations nor with ideological or party affiliation. We wish to work in the spirit of the council documents "Gaudium et spes" and the encyclical Pacem in Terris. The Association also disseminated these documents in print.

In this endeavor we are guided and encouraged by the following words: "Once again we wish to remind our sons and daughters of their duty to participate actively in public life and contribute to the realization of universal well-being of the entire human family, as well as their own political community. Guided by the light of faith and love for our fellow man, let them strive to make sure that the economic, social, cultural and political systems do not become an obstacle but rather assist people in their improvement in both the natural and supernatural sense" (Pacem in Terris, p 56).

The Holy Father Paul VI left an imprint in his encyclical "Ecclesium suam" to the effect that the Church should fulfill its mission in the world as it is today.

If we want others to listen to us and understand us, we must not put a distance of privilege and strange language between ourselves and the people, we must rather adopt the ways of modest living, and get close to especially those who are most needy. We must listen to what people are saying, feel what they feel, in order to understand, respect and, within our capability, fulfill their wishes.

Wherever people strive for mutual understanding of themselves and the world, we can join with them, wherever people assemble in favor of human rights and responsibilities, we are happy to hold discussions with them and we consider it an honor to be able to do so.

While respecting differing opinions--a privilege commonly recognized today--our priests and the Association participate with all citizens of good will in the defense of peace which is essential for human life. In our participation in the struggle for peace and universal good, we were inspired by Chapter V of the encyclical Pacem in Terris which allows all believers a joint approach to problems affecting the needs of mankind today.

Members of the Association, along with every other priest, guide their believers in the direction of meeting their everyday responsibilities toward their work, as well as toward society.

We are convinced that through this effort for peace and civic activism, we are serving the interests of the Church, as well as our country, and are helping to maintain good relations between our socialist society and the Holy Church. There have been several requests from our ranks that negotiations be successfully concluded between the Holy See and our government, that an agreement be finally reached which would resolve the staffing of all our bishoprics, as well as other urgent problems. In the spirit of the Codex and under the principles of ideological precepts, we have striven to maintain appropriate respect, devotion and subordination to our lawful Church superiors.

May we be permitted to request that the most reverend bishops and ordinaries, cognizant of the good of the church and the Lord's people in our socialist system, proceed thoughtfully in resolving the problem of the pronouncement by the Congregation for the Clergy and, as competent authorities, clarify the Association's activity, thus helping to remove the misunderstanding which the proclamation had evoked.

The great majority of Catholic priests with whom we have consulted, are fully convinced that the pronouncement cannot be applied to a movement which has a distinctly peaceful character. For such is the Association of Catholic Clergy, all of whose work has from the outset been based exclusively on papal documents and conclusions of the IInd Vatican Council. In civic matters, we are motivated by the law on the protection of peace which is in force in our country. Should there be some people who, despite these valid arguments, would wish to place the Association under the provisions of the above-mentioned pronouncement, it could be only those who would intentionally place the Association in a false light, thus warping the truth of the Association's real mission. Should the honorable congregation receive information or reports which indeed place the Association's work in such false light, may we be permitted to state that these are malicious attempts to warp the truth and honest work and stance of priests who have been laboring for decades for the victory of peace in justice and love throughout the world.

Our devotion to the Holy Church and its head, the Holy Father, has been frequently documented in the statements issued at our assemblies. The most reverend bishops and ordinaries themselves were able to bear witness to this at all our meetings.

We are turning to you today with trust and respect, as the appropriate authority which alone can judge and evaluate all our priestly activity, including that in the area of defending peace, in order that--since you know us and are able judge--you may issue qualified and objective testimony about us and our work in the Pacem in Terris Association.

Faithful to the Holy Mother Church, devoted to the Holy Father and to you, the most reverend bishops and ordinaries, we wish in filial obedience to continue our work for the well-being and peace for mankind throughout the world.

Reaction of CSSR Government

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 30, 25 Jul 82 p 1

[Text] Everyday experiences tell us that, besides the small pleasures and concerns of the individual, we as citizens of one of the nations on this planet also encounter problems which, without distinction among the social systems of individual countries or state groupings or even their way of life and ideology, can be characterized as fundamental and of priority importance. Among these, unquestionably of top priority to all people, is to defend peace by all means, prevent a nuclear war, ease the tensions in the world and put an end to the feverish arms race. All honest people the world over are increasingly becoming aware of this reality. At the same time, they seek and find answers to the question of who bears the responsibility for bringing mankind to the brink of nuclear catastrophe, and how to frustrate these efforts of the world reactionaries, led by the American imperialist circles. On the other hand, people of the world support with equal conviction the consistent peace program of the USSR and the other states of the world socialist system, whose principled and humane content is especially noticeable in light of the sharp exacerbation of the current international situation by the United States and its allies.

The working people of our country, including religious believers, have a considerable share in the noble undertaking on behalf of peace. The socialist state with its allies is doing everything in its power for the victory of peace. Its endeavor stems from the principle that in our conditions of building socialism, a strengthening of the socialist community and the union with all peace-loving, democratic forces of the world, represents the most effective contribution to the struggle for preventing a nuclear catastrophe. This goal is common to all our citizens. It expresses the interests of all our working people, whether they are religious believers or not.

Those believers in our country who actively participate in the building endeavor of the CSSR National Front Government, represent a natural foundation for cooperation between believers and non-believers in the construction of a socialist society, thus making room for good relations between the socialist state, the churches and religious societies in the CSSR.

In a situation where mankind is struggling with the cardinal problem of preserving peace in the world, our state--with complete dedication to the cause of peace--supports all forces which are willing to actively oppose the threat of war in defense of peace.

We are aware that this current struggle for peace has also been acknowledged by the international church centers which, for the most part, have joined it.

However, the world public, especially Catholics, cannot fail to notice certain conflicting approaches to this problem manifested during public appearances of certain representatives of the Vatican. On the one hand, for example, P.J. Long, delegated by the Vatican as an observer to the World All-Church Conference of Church Representatives in May of this year in Moscow, presented, among other things, the following view: "Since WW II, all popes of the Catholic Church, as well as the solemn congregation of bishops at the IInd Vatican Council, have turned to the problem of war, nuclear armament and disarmament. All popes have denounced the arms race and called for general limitation of arms, expressed in more than merely words. They demanded more guarantees against possible error or accident in the introduction of these weapons, and they did so in the name of respect for peace and its preservation, for freedom and legitimate security for all nations."

The greater then was the surprise generated by the fact that Czechoslovak bishops were prohibited by the Vatican to attend the above-mentioned Moscow conference. The reasons for such a decision must obviously be sought in broader context.

For during the same period, there was a discussion within the Roman Catholic Church of the so-called "Pronouncement" of the Vatican Congregation for the Clergy which baffled many people, especially the way it was interpreted with respect to the CSSR by certain Vatican and domestic representatives of the Church. There are even voices claiming that this represents a curtailment, possibly a ban, on the Roman Catholic clergy to actively participate in the struggle for the preservation of peace and progress in the world.

Many of the Western communications media exploited these facts and quickly attempted to lend support to those opinions and standpoints whose aim it is to discredit realistic relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church in our country. The pretext for doing this became the existence of the CSSR Association of Catholic Clergy, *Pacem in Terris*, against which attacks are being directed in connection with the above-mentioned "Proclamation."

It is close to absurd in this day and age when millions of people throughout the world know no rest in the struggle to preserve peace, that anyone in the Vatican center would try to prevent Catholic priests in the CSSR, moreover under threat of Church sanctions, from becoming active in the struggle for the preservation of the human race in ways and methods which have been legally instituted in the CSSR.

The Czechoslovak state does not deprive any of its citizens, including the priests, churches, and religious societies which had been recognized by the state, of the right to participate in their chosen manner in the peace program as it is anchored in the CSSR constitution and the law for the defense of peace.

Our society not only does not prevent or ban activities on behalf of peace, on the contrary, it publicly supports and protects them. Consequently, in harmony with our laws--and at the request of a great majority of Roman Catholic priests, the Czech and Slovak Ministers of Culture in 1971 approved by their decrees the activity of the peace movement of the Catholic clergy, which bears the name "*Pacem in Terris*," inspired by the encyclical of Pope John XXIII. Since this and other peace movements in the CSSR do not engage in activity which is in conflict with accepted legislative standards, on the contrary, activities which constructively support them, they can continue to work undisturbed under the protection of the Czechoslovak legal code. For this reason, the Czechoslovak socialist state is happy to note that Roman Catholic priests, precisely through the intermediary of the Association "*Pacem in Terris*," have a great share in the realization of this country's humanist goals which are in full accord with the wishes and aspirations of our nations and all of mankind.

Similarly as it supports the peace efforts of all churches and religious societies in this country, the CSSR Government takes the same position with respect to peace proposals of the Vatican and its representative, Pope John Paul II, especially if these are followed by concrete deeds.

In this connection, we again emphasize that the Catholic Church, as other churches in the CSSR, have always had and will continue to have room for their religious activity, as set forth in the constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

From the vantage point of mankind's historical perspective, there simply is no alternative but victory of the forces of peace against war. This is also understood by the overwhelming majority of priests and believers in our country. For practical experience has shown that to become an activist on behalf of this goal is not only the right but also the duty of all of us without exception.

Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Ministries of Culture of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics

9496

CSO: 2400/363

LEGISLATIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN STATE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ANALYZED

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 31 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 28 Apr 82) pp 499-508

[Article by Dr Richard Mand, Dr Carola Schulze, Dr Peter Zinnecker; GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "Topical Questions of Cooperation Between Socialist State and Social Organizations in the Continued Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society in the GDR"]

[Text] The construction of the developed socialist society, as the SED Program remarks, is a process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. The continued shaping of the system as a whole, of its various elements and of the interrelations among them is inevitably given by this further development process of the socialist revolution. The inner cohesion and the close dynamic interrelations among all its elements are characteristics and conditions of the political system of socialism. They have grown historically and are becoming more important at the present time.

The centerpiece of these relations lies in the further shaping of the power of the workers class and its alliance with all working people. The role and responsibility of the working people's social organizations are also growing in this process, especially as they work together with the socialist state as an essential aspect of the realization of socialist democracy, the chief developmental trend of socialist state power.¹ Here the various personal and collective interests develop and are realized as the total interest rich in content expressing objective requirements. "The cooperation of the people's representations and deputies with the social organizations and other social forces must improve ascertaining the interests, needs and problems of certain population groups and mobilize their activities for the solution of the tasks."²

I

The growing role and responsibility of the social organizations and their working together with the socialist state is marked by the following tendencies: --the development of SED leadership in the social organizations, expressed in particular by the communists' growing influence in the social organizations, in the party conferences with the management organs of various social organizations, in specific resolutions concerning particular organizations, and in the all-round comradely support social organizations receive from the party organizations on all levels for fulfilling their tasks;

- the increased participation by the social organizations in elaborating and enforcing state policy;
- the increasing spread of initiatives aimed at the solution of overall state tasks;
- the further development of the system of social organizations by the creation of new organizational units;³
- the expansion and consolidation of the legal status of social organizations;
- the deepening of the tried and tested cooperation among the social organizations in the Democratic Block and the National Front of the GDR; and
- the growth of the numerical strength of the social organizations and of their influence on official and public life.⁴

These factors characterize and encourage the process of constantly deepening the cooperation between the social organizations and the socialist state and reflect the further development of socialist democracy in public and official life and the SED's growing leadership role as the fundamental and most general inevitabilities of the whole political system of socialism. In the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, they also become increasingly more the inevitabilities of the system of the social organizations, as part of the political system of socialism.⁵ Due to the requirements for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and to the increased class conflict with imperialism, the activities to strengthen working class power increasingly become the central efforts of all social organizations. That helps greatly in enhancing the stability and efficacy of the political system as a whole and of each of its members.

Taking part in the consolidation of power also is the most important condition for a dynamic and steady development of the system of the social organizations and each individual organization within the political system of socialism. It is an essential prerequisite for its stability by taking more and more solidly root within the people. That is why the social organizations in the GDR are more and more being scrutinized by bourgeois political scientists, historians and students of jurisprudence in the FRG as well as in other capitalist countries.⁶

The cooperation between the state organs and the social organizations in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is based on the increasingly more prominent unity of the political system of socialism which, with its characteristic and essential features, forms the basis on which this cooperation could develop and can further consolidate.⁷ The essential unity of the political system of socialism depends on

- the uniform leadership of the state organs and social organizations by the Marxist-Leninist party;
- the unified system of people's representations and the system of social organizations as systems of the same sociopolitical type;
- the right the social organizations have to take part in the management of official and public affairs, as written into the Constitution and guaranteed by the political and economic premise of socialist society; and
- the unity of principles by which organizations in the political system are structured (democratic centralism, socialist legality, participation by the masses in the management of the state and of the organizations, proletarian internationalism and so forth).

These fundamental characteristics of the entire sociopolitical order in socialism are the basis for the coordinated action between the state organs and the social organizations within the framework of the political system, which greatly helps develop the people's creative potentials in their collective and public relations and multiply the capacities and making them serviceable to the construction of socialism/communism. Public interests shaped by collective and public relations consolidate the people's political-moral unity. This embodies the unity of will and action by all of the people's organized capacities on an increasingly higher level. An especially important factor for the efficacy of the cooperation between state organs and social organizations is due to the nature of social organizations itself, the high degree of organization of their collectives based on their free will, the expertise and energy of their members, and the direct link between social, collective and personal interests.

The cooperation between state organs and social organizations is substantively determined by the tasks formulated by the party for the construction of socialism/communism and by the development of the functions of the whole political system, especially the state functions, and, at the present time, is aimed at solving the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and at the tasks resulting from the international class conflict.

This cooperation embraces nearly all domains of society, the economy, culture and education, social policy, environmental protection and national defense. It embraces the shared efforts in improving the social organizations' political-ideological work so as to make all citizens aware of the unity between safeguarding peace and strengthening the socialist fatherland and the whole community of socialist states and the need for constantly deepening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. For the preservation of peace, which ultimately decides the present and future of mankind, is the most important and primary interest of all men. This human right to life is seriously being threatened by imperialism. We must make all citizens persuasively and vividly aware of these basic interconnections so that we motivate them for appropriate actions. This task is the essential substance in the cooperation between the organs of state power and social organizations. In addition, the focal point of this cooperation also is placed on improving the social organizations' contribution to the implementation of the economic strategy, their participation in enforcing a socialist cultural policy and the working people's training and advanced training, their taking part in implementing the socialist social policy, and their contribution to the protection and defense of the socialist political and social order.

II

The forms in the cooperation between the state organs and social organizations, determined by the perfecting of the substance in these mutual relations, develop with increasing stability, efficacy and variety in the phase of the shaping of the developed socialist society. The qualitative and quantitative factors in this cooperation are growing and new forms and methods develop--in line with the requirements for the social transformation process. The mandate of social organizations has proven its worth excellently in the GDR:

the FDGB (Free German Labor Union Federation), the FDJ (Free German Youth), DFD (Democratic Women's League of Germany), the KB (Culture League) of the GDR for all people's representations, and the VdGB (Peasant Mutual Aid Association) and the consumer cooperatives, for specific local people's representations.⁸ They have become a constitutive element of the system of power exercise. The ever more deliberate exercise of responsibility by central and local management bodies in social organizations for the deputies nominated by them within the scope of a joint National Front ballot significantly influences the effectiveness of the deputies in the people's representations and is an essential aspect of the social organizations' participation in the consolidation of state power.

Regular forms of cooperation and mutual consultation between state organs and social organizations have evolved in certain areas of state management. That is true, e.g., of certain areas in economic policy, youth policy, defense education, culture and social policy, and the educational system. As a rule, state organs make no decisions without consulting with the managements of social organizations, if the matter up for decision affects problems concerning their field of responsibility. For instance, the participation by certain social organizations (notably the FDGB, the FDJ and the DFD) in economic planning--from plan debates in the enterprises to the decision-making by the People's Chamber--has become regular procedure in the GDR's planning system in recent years. This participation by social organizations in the planning process significantly improves the plans and the organized and skilled mobilization of ideas of millions of working people for the development plans of their own working and living conditions. Here socialist democracy, and hence the essence of socialism as a social order deliberately and systematically fashioned by the working people, fully comes into its own. In making this form of participation still more expedient and in disseminating the most progressive experiences we find, however, still great reserves for perfecting socialist democracy.

Some of the cooperation between the organs of state power and the social organizations, most of which being subject to legal regulations, is developed for entire areas of public life and spelled out in detail as to the concrete manner of implementing specific tasks through accords⁹ between the state organs and the managements of social organizations, signed to a larger extent especially after the Eighth SED Congress. Normally they are based on legal regulations and are aimed at enforcing them. Their implementation has led and is leading to high social results, often slight in material expenditure.¹⁰ The scope, number, substance and form of such accords differ greatly, and so do the ways and means of their promulgation. It is necessary to draw general rules from the positive experiences gained in this field and provide them with uniform principles in terms of substance, form, the conclusion and the ways and means of publicizing such accords.

In the coordinated efforts of state organs and social organizations, an important function attaches to volunteer advisory bodies like councils, advisory councils, commissions, task forces and activists groups in state collective organs and individual state managers. They usually are representatives of certain state organs, institutions and social organizations and have proven themselves extremely efficient forms in shaping a close cooperation between

the state organs and social organizations and in coordinating the activities of social forces. They are official-public consultation and coordination bodies in character and are normally run by the responsible official functionary concerned. In certain areas, such collectives exist on all management levels, e.g. the cultural council under the ministry for culture and cultural-political advisory councils under the local councils, MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow) task forces on all management levels; in other areas, however, they exist on the central or the local level only.

Surveys on the local level have established that the activity of these bodies significantly improves the efficacy and mass effectiveness of state management. At the same time, however, it is necessary to ensure still more coordination with the manner of work done by the people's representations and always to make sure whether, given the variety of bodies already in existence, further new organizations are in fact always needed. The participation by social organizations in preparing management concepts for certain areas of public life by the bezirk and kreis councils also has proved itself outstandingly. That also establishes the prerequisites for their being implemented on a broad public basis.

III

In the shaping of the developed socialist society, the cooperation between state organs and social organizations also is becoming more prominent in the processes of the increasing entwining between jurisprudence and jurisdiction. The basis for it is a broad democratic foundation, already in place, that grants new opportunities for bringing a deliberate influence to bear in all phases of jurisprudence and jurisdiction to the social organizations in our political system. The participation by social organizations in the process of jurisprudence, written into the Constitution and further specified in the order on preparing and shaping legal regulations,¹¹ has become vastly more active. The cooperation between the state organs and social organizations in this field at present proceeds particularly in the following forms and methods through which the participation by social organizations has already proven itself in the practice of GDR jurisprudence:

- in realizing the FDGB's right to initiate laws and the FDJ right of initiative for legal acts of the Council of Ministers and in the right to legal initiatives by deputies and fractions of social organizations represented in the People's Chamber;
- in issuing joint legal regulations;
- in preparing law regulation drafts by social organizations, sanctioned by state organs; and
- in the social organizations' participation in the debate on legal regulations.¹²

At the same time, there are two tendencies becoming ever more prominent in the social organizations' participation in jurisprudence, which will gain more importance, depending on the order on the preparation and shaping of law regulations in practical jurisprudence in the 1980's, and have to receive more penetrating scientific analysis.

For one thing, the number of draft regulations is growing that have to be coordinated with social organization managements if they affect their tasks.¹³ This coordination, taking place as early as when legal regulations are still under preparation, means that even then social organization managements have to be consulted and the matters to be governed by law have to be coordinated with them, provided they touch on the interests and activity of their members. On behalf of turning such coordination more and more into an act of making legal regulations more expedient, political science and jurisprudence, through exploring the possibilities to improve the enactment of law and legislation also ought to address the substance of this coordination.

And then also, the social organizations in the GDR--particularly the trade and science associations--are making a specific and effective contribution to preparing legal regulations that, above all, critically affect the legislative activity by the specialized ministries and central bureaus. In the practice of law enactments on the level of the specialized ministries, forms have evolved such as the direct participation by social organization managements in the legislative commissions, the elaboration of recommendations by social organization managements for preparing official juridical decisions, and the chance certain social organizations have independently to propose legal arrangements in setting up legal regulations which directly affect those social organizations' sphere of activity.

The cooperation between the state and social organizations in the process of the administration of law, in the shaping of the developed socialist society, is of theoretical and practical interest mainly under the following aspects: The social organizations help consolidate socialist legality, assist in law education and law propaganda, and contribute to the protection and implementation of the citizens' rights and freedoms and in the administration of law as a specific form of jurisdiction. Some relevant theoretical legal questions in the cooperation between the state and social organizations in the process of jurisdiction deserve a closer look. The social organizations particularly exercise an active influence on the administration of law through the following norms, which are elements of the regulatory mechanism in social relations:

1. By-laws and statutes of social organizations, issued on the basis of SED resolutions and the Constitution, which reinforce, concretize and enrich requirements and relations governed by law. To that extent, the effects go beyond the organization proper. That applies in particular to provisions about the duties of the members of the social organizations to the socialist society and the state.
2. Resolutions, orders and basic guidelines from the management bodies of social organizations, issued on the basis of legal regulations for their being concretized and put into effect by the organizational units, containing specific norms of binding character for the social organizations. Primarily, they spell out the mandatory tasks and rights of those social organizations in enforcing concrete legal regulations affecting, in the subject under their jurisdiction, the tasking and activity area of those social organizations. They supplement, specify and concretize the administration of tasks and rights of the organizations concerned under the aspect of law.¹⁴

3. Contracts and accords concluded, on the basis of legal regulations, between central and local state organs and the central and local managements of social organizations, being of legal form in that sense and subject to the law administration process.

4. Joint resolutions by party and state organs and social organizations, state organs and social organizations or among social organizations.

Through the social organizational norms, issued on the basis and in effective implementation of the law in force, and supplementing and concretizing the law in force, the social organizations are making an important contribution to the continued smooth improvement and all-round application of the regulatory mechanism in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, p 116.
2. K. Sorgenicht, "Penetrating More Deeply the 10th SED Congress Resolutions for the Further Strengthening of Socialist State Power," STAAT UND RECHT, 1981, p 678.
3. That is vividly brought out, e.g., by that in the 1974-1980 period the number of FDGB shop stewards grew from 250,848 to 299,539, an equivalent of setting up 48,691 new trade union groups (computed from "Statistisches Taschenbuch der DDR," Berlin, 1975 and 1981), and by the development of the Culture League of the GDR, in the framework of which in recent years new associations or societies were formed fostering nature and the homeland, homeland history and monuments, in which citizens responsibly participate in solving official and public tasks in these fields.
4. Membership growth in selected social organizations:

Organizations	Membership		Membership growth	
	1961	1980	absolute	%
FDGB	6,300,000	8,806,754	2,506,754	39.8
Culture League	183,151	226,593	43,442	23.7
German-Soviet Friendship Society	3,524,645	5,700,000	2,175,355	61.7
Chamber of Technology	110,733	246,204	135,471	122.3
German Red Cross	437,520	633,703	196,183	44.8
People's Solidarity	1,417,864	2,029,000	611,136	43.1
VKSK	864,166	1,127,382	263,216	30.3
Consumer cooperatives	3,805,399	4,442,000	636,601	16.7
DTSB	1,534,105	3,139,333	1,605,228	104.6
Agricultural Society	6,584	50,032	43,448	659.9

(Computed from GDR Statistical Yearbooks 1962 and 1981, Berlin, 1962, pp 137 ff; Berlin, 1981, pp 395 ff. Figures on the Agricultural Society were obtained from that organization.)

5. Cf. "Social Organizations, Law and Personality" (in Russian), Moscow, 1981, p 71.
6. Cf. M Ehlenbeck, "Auseinandersetzung mit Angriffen imperialistischer Ideologen der BRD in den siebziger Jahren auf die Rolle gesellschaftlicher Organisationen der Werktätigen in der politischen Organisation der sozialistischen Gesellschaft der DDR" (Confronting Attacks from FRG Ideologists in the 1970's on the Role of the Working People's Social Organizations in the Political Organization of Socialist Society in the GDR), Dissertation, Dresden, 1981.
7. Cf. Z. A. Yampolskaya, "On the Interaction Between State Organs and Social Organizations in Present-day Soviet Society," SOVETSKOE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, 1978, No 8, pp 21 ff.
8. Some publications fail to mention the mandates of VdGB and of the consumer cooperatives, although right now 7,491 deputies bear the VdGB mandate and 6,073, that of the consumer cooperatives. Cf. textbook "Staatsrecht der DDR" (GDR Political Law), Berlin, 1977, p 124; "Kleines Politisches Woerterbuch" (Small Political Dictionary), Berlin, 1978, p 295; textbook "Verwaltungsrecht" (Administrative Law), Berlin, 1979, p 211.
9. Cf., e.g., "Accord Between the FDGB Executive Committee and the Ministry for National Defense on Cooperating in Socialist Defense Education for the Working Class and All Other Working People in the GDR," "Zur Foerderung der Arbeiterjugend" (On Promoting Working Youth), Berlin, n.d., pp 266 ff; "Accord Between the State Secretariat for Vocational Training and the Presidium of the Culture League of the GDR on Cooperating in the Further Improvement of Intellectual-Cultural Life in the Vocational Training Institutions," "Information No 437" published by the Culture League of the GDR, Presidium Secretariat; "Accord Between the Ministry for Culture and the FDGB Executive Committee in the Field of Literature Propaganda and the Dissemination of Literature, and on the Development of the Library System," FDGB "Informationsblatt" No 1, 1975; "Accord Among the Ministry for Culture, the State Secretariat for Vocational Training, the FDGB Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council on the Further Development of the Cultural-Aesthetic Education and Training of Apprentices, of 15 March 1977," Ministry for Culture "Verfuegungen und Mitteilungen," No 4, 1977; "Com-muniqué of the Ministry for Environmental Protection & Water Management and the Presidium of the Culture League, of 22 September 1972," "Kulturbund Informationen" No 2, 1979; "Accord Between the Ministry for Environmental Protection & Water Management and the Presidium of the German Anglers' Association of the GDR, of 13 May 1981," DEUTSCHER ANGELSPORT, 1981, p 330.
10. Thus the Chamber of Technology conducts extensive programs on advanced training for working people, as a social organization and on the basis of accords with state organs. That is done on a social basis within the scope of the organization without full-time teachers and with but slight material outlays. For Chamber of Technology services in advanced training for working people, cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR," Berlin, 1977, p 439; 1978, p 395; 1979, p 396; 1980, p 400.

11. Cf. "Order on Preparing and Drawing up Legal Regulations--Annex to the Resolution of the Council of Ministers, 25 July 1980," GBL Special Issue No 1056, Articles 9, 10 (3).

12. Cf. "Die gesellschaftlichen Organisationen in der DDR" (The Social Organizations in the GDR), Berlin, 1980, pp 193 ff.

13. Cf., e.g., the decree on granting scholarships of 11 June 1981, GBL, Part I, p 229, issued through coordination between the FDGB and the FDJ; Decree on the use of inland waterways by fisheries, of 16 June 1981, GBL, Part I, p 281, issued through coordination between the central executive board of the trade union for agriculture, the foodstuff industry and fisheries and the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation (DTSB); Decree on the training and follow-up training of the citizens on basics in civil defense, of 3 August 1981, GBL, Part I, p 313, issued in coordination with the FDGB Executive Committee and central executive committees of other social organizations; Decree on apprentice production and training spots for the vocational training of apprentices, of 10 December 1981, GBL, Part I, p 137, issued jointly by the FDGB Central Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council; the Fifth Implementing Regulation on the Livestock Raising Law--Training and Advanced Training for a New Generation of Breeders--of 6 January 1982, GBL, Part I, p 143, issued jointly by the central executive board of the foodstuffs and forestry trade union and the VKSK Central Executive Committee; Decree on applying for an apprenticeship--Application Regulation--of 5 January 1982, GBL, Part I, p 9, issued in coordination with the FDGB Central Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council.

14. Cf., e.g., "Order on Trade Union Trial Representation and Participation in Labor Law Proceedings" (FDGB Central Executive Committee Secretariat Resolution, of 1 August 1979), "Arbeitsrechtliche Beschluesse, Dokumente" (Labor Law Resolutions--Document), Berlin, n.d., p 46; "Order on Exercising Trade Union Rights When Concluding, Amending and Terminating Labor Contracts" (FDGB Central Executive Committee Secretariat Resolution, of 21 June 1978) Ibid., p 10; "Basic Guideline on Conducting the Socialist Job Competition" (Joint FDGB Central Executive Committee and FDJ Central Council Resolution, of 1979), "Zur Foerderung der Arbeiterjugend, Dokumente," Berlin, n.d., pp 58 ff; "Guideline on the Cultural Work of the People's Solidarity" (Resolution by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the People's Solidarity, of 6 June 1979), "Zur Foerderung der aelteren Werktaetigen und Arbeitsveteranen, Dokumente" (On Promoting Senior Working People and Veterans of Labor, Documents), Berlin, 1981, p 73; "Measures for More Involving Senior Citizens in Physical Culture and Sports" (Resolution of January 1980 by the DTSB Central Executive Committee), "Zur Foerderung der aelteren Werktaetigen . . .," op. cit., p 122; "Results of the 23rd Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and Immediate Inferences for Continuing the MMM Movement" (Resolution by the FDJ Central Council Secretariat of 27 November 1980), "FDJ und wissenschaftlich-technischer Fortschritt" (FDJ and Scientific-Technical Progress), Berlin, 1981, p 133.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ROLE OF 'NON-PROLETARIAN DEMOCRATS' IN GDR SOCIETY EXPLAINED

East Berlin LDPD-INFORMATIONEN in German Vol 36 No 8, Aug 82 pp 27-29

['Our Consultation' feature article by Dr Lutz Hoyer, department chief, secretariat, Central Executive Committee, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD): "On Understanding the Tradition of Our Party"]

[Text] "Ultimately, our party objectively carries on the tradition of non-proletarian forces and movements in German history up to 1945 and acts politically from that awareness, too."

This statement in the central executive committee report to the 13th party congress requires an explanation, and this in several respects. For one thing: our 13th party congress dealt with the tasks arising for the LDPD in the 1980's from its sharing the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. The 1,000 delegates in Weimar, based on the balance-sheet for five successful years, mainly were looking ahead. In spite of that the party congress also dealt with history--that of the LDPD and of the GDR and, above and beyond that, with some general aspects of the history of the German people as such. The 13th party congress in this context also took a position on the LDPD's understanding of our tradition. And, as a closer look shows, one, looking ahead, by no means precludes the other, considering the past.

The Irrevocable Starting Point

The 12th party congress, notably, already dealt in detail with our party's relationship with the progressive traditions of our people. What was stated about that in the 12th party congress basic announcement retains an undiminished relevance. At the same time the 13th party congress replaced some emphases in our party's understanding of the tradition. What was it all about?

The irrevocable starting point is and remains the statement in the 12th party congress basic announcement: "The LDPD espouses the legacy of all progressive forces of the German people." There are two aspects of special importance here. First, all progressive forces of our people are indeed meant, the legacy of which we espouse--i.e. the revolutionary workers movement and its legacy as well as the progressive traditions of non-proletarian, i.e. bourgeois and petty bourgeois, forces. Even the 12th party congress made a point of the fact that there is unity to this legacy.

This unity is explained by that the progressive traditions we liberal democrats also cultivate include the efforts and heritage of all those who contributed to social progress, regardless of their social and class-bound ties. The GDR, our state, is the legitimate heir to the revolutionary struggle of the workers class and the other democratic forces against capitalism and war, to the revolutionary conduct of the peasants, the craftsmen, the clergy, the intellectuals and artists, the members of the bourgeoisie, or all, in other words, who pushed social development ahead. And it is this heritage our state has assumed which we espouse in its totality and in all its parts.

This already actually makes the second point, to the effect that we liberal democrats share this allegiance of course with all social forces in our country; it links us with the working class party and the other parties and organizations in the Democratic Block and the National Front of the GDR. As far as that is concerned then--even though it is the starting point and basis of our understanding of history and tradition--it is not specific for the LDPD.

The Role of Non-proletarian Democrats

Our allegiance to the legacy of all progressive forces of the German people of necessity includes the forces, movements and personalities of non-proletarian origin that have also pushed social development ahead. That explains why fostering the revolutionary-democratic and humanistic traditions of bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces has always played a special role in our party. That will continue to be so in the future, too. However, it must be understood that through our relating to this tradition, the question has not yet been adequately answered as to which tradition it is that our party itself carries on, and which traditions it carries on in the dialectic between continuity and discontinuity. The question as to which legacy the LDPD espouses is not identical with the one of which tradition it has objectively assumed itself.

Which actually then are the forces in German history before 1945 which--non-proletarian in origin--advanced social progress or helped making it prevail, and the efforts of which found their continuation and fulfilment in the policy of our party since 1945--if not solely and exclusively there? Precisely this question it was that the 13th party congress has answered by reference to the role of the non-proletarian democrats in German history. And this also amounts to our growth of understanding since the 12th party congress.

What does "non-proletarian democrats" mean with regard to the history before 1945? First, these were forces advocating democratic ideas and demands, fighting for them up to their self-sacrifice, their origin mainly being the petty bourgeoisie or the middle-class strata of capitalist society. Granted, not every small proprietor was by that token a petty bourgeois democrat, nor was every petty bourgeois democrat a small proprietor.

The key question in rating non-proletarian democrats is answered by their role in enforcing social progress and by their attitude toward the working masses and their struggle. In this sense the petty bourgeois democracy played a significant role in the struggle for making bourgeois-democratic conditions prevail during the bourgeois transformation of 1789 up to 1871, i.e., from the French Revolution to the founding of the German Empire. As the interconnection between the bourgeoisie and the people's movement, as it were, it reached the culmination of its historic existence in that era.

The Class Situation of the Middle-Class Strata

The more the working class--around 1830 in Germany--placed itself in the center of the struggle for making social progress prevail, the more it approached the positions of the revolutionary working class and its party, and since 1917 it became the position toward the Soviet Union forming the crucial criteria for assessing non-proletarian democrats. It has to be remembered that the non-proletarian democrats, due to their class situation and their more or less clearly understood objective, were in objective agreement with the struggle of the revolutionary working class.

The middle-class strata of capitalist society were and are a significant part of the toiling and exploited masses. There has been and there is a weighty democratic, antimilitarist and anti-imperialist potential in the petty bourgeois masses. Because of the economic situation in capitalist society, however, they wavered "inevitably and unavoidably between revolution and counterrevolution," as Lenin put it, and were not able to "organize independently, without joining a combative class, for direct revolutionary struggle." The ruling exploiter class time and time again succeeded in misusing the petty bourgeois for its reactionary interests, aimed against the people's masses as against the petty bourgeoisie.

For Social Progress

That is the social milieu out of which the non-proletarian democrats came. It indicates what it meant that members of those strata joined the struggle for peace and democracy, and against imperialism, militarism and fascism, and what a lengthy and intricate course they normally had to travel until they would approach working class positions. The non-proletarian democrats' struggle conformed to the very own interests of the classes and strata from which they came or to which they belonged.

The central executive committee report to the 13th party congress mentioned a number of concrete examples of the efforts of non-proletarian democrats--ranging from the fighters against the reactionary policy of the Holy Alliance all the way to the antifascist resistance struggle.

Our party chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach commented with respect to that: "The legacy from them all confirms us liberal democrats in the certitude to be standing on the right side. The evidence is that the non-proletarian democrats, who mainly came from the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the sector of the salaried employees, always helped push social progress ahead when they joined the struggle of the working masses, especially the working class, for peace, democracy and human dignity, for a new, free and just order. Our party has assumed the tradition of this struggle by the non-proletarian democrats from the day of its founding."

Caesura in 1945

This explains that meanwhile also the history of our party, the legacy from Wilhelm Kuelz, Hans Loch, Max Suhrbier and Johannes Dieckmann, belongs among the progressive traditions we foster and carry on. The critical caesura in the efforts by non-proletarian democrats came in 1945, however, through our party's

being ready and able to help create antifascist-democratic conditions, together with the working class and its revolutionary party, a step which in 1952 logically led to the decision to get involved in the construction of socialism.

This consistent course has lent a new quality of practical politics to the efforts not only of non-proletarian democrats, so that when we refer to the LDPD today we speak of a democratic party working in and for socialism, it also has opened our eyes to bestowing a new quality on our understanding our tradition.

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DEVELOPMENTS OF UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 8 Sep 82 p 3

/Article datelined 'Berlin/GDR, 7 September'; by Helmut Loelhoeffel, member, editorial board, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: "Peace Movement in the GDR: Propaganda by Word of Mouth Which Makes the State Nervous--The Irritating Word of the Prophet Micah--For the Uncoordinated Initiatives and the Lone Wolves, the Protestant Church Offers the Only Possibility for Open Discussion"

/Text "When I'm grown up," runs the song of the 4-year old children in East Berlin's nursery schools, "I will join the People's Army. I'll get into a tank, ratata, ratata." and they gleefully clap their hands. Or they hum the tune: "When I hear the soldiers sing, I abandon all my toys and run into the street; I must look at the soldiers." The children's newspaper BUMMI recommended a game for the anniversary of the National People's Army (NVA): "Now I am practicing my report to the general. I stand to attention and say aloud: 'Dear comrade general! BUMMI and its readers warmly congratulate all soldiers on this birthday!'" Toy stores from Rostock to Dresden store all kinds of martial devices for children's rooms (occasionally dubbed "patriotic toys" by German educators), and in addition the board game "Weasel calls Lizard," representing a maneuver. The winner is he who "occupies the staff headquarters of the other maneuver group with at least one tank and one armored car." More serious were proceedings at the meeting of 100,00 Thaelmann Pioneers (the GDR children's organization) in Dresden: In the course of a "field parade," minitanks "commanded" by 12-year olds rumbled past.

In the GDR it is an everyday occurrence to habituate the youngest to weapons, the armed forces and war. Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann, though, turns the issue upside down: "When FRG mass media now rave about 'increasing militarization' (in the GDR) and all kinds of suspicions...are given prominence," this merely serves the purpose of deflecting attention from the rearmament in NATO." The GDR press accuses the FRG of inciting its youth to militarism. And yet, GDR curricula offer exactly that which Army General Hoffmann dismisses as "ravings." Propaganda that graphically depicts the enemy, education to hatred, glorification of military service, premilitary drills. In early September new directives for premilitary training took effect. Key points are early specialization for a specific career in the People's Army, "the consolidation of the political standpoint," habituation to military behavior--discipline, order, command--"and not least the marksmanship of the future soldiers in training on the range."

All of this arouses anxiety among many GDR citizens. Their rulers constantly tell them that party, government and people represent "a single enormous peace movement"

in the GDR, the "country of peace." The SED has rigged up its own peace movement and allows it to appear in public on demand. Forty-one noted physicians set up a committee, "GDR physicians for the prevention of nuclear war." It presented itself as an "indivisible part of the united and extensive peace movement in the GDR." A GDR Peace Council has existed since 1949. It is an organization directed from above, and its goals (recognition of the borders in Europe, renunciation of the use of nuclear arms, steps toward disarmament by both sides) agree--at least on paper--with those of the Western peace movement. This government directed and channeled "movement" omits any criticism of Eastern rearmament. It does, though, orchestrate mass actions such as the collection of 13 million signatures for peace and detente, the meetings of the Free German Youth (FDJ) at Pentecost (where, though, no spontaneous enthusiasm of the attendant groups was to be observed), or the Dresden Pioneer Congress, when harmless hikes in the countryside were declared to be "peace marches." A popular running meet was staged in East Berlin. Its 20,000 participants were asked "at four different distances to supply a profession of peace by their sporting activities."

Even fashion designers and disc jockeys are harnessed for the peace campaign. This presents itself with the slogans "securing peace is government doctrine," "socialism and peace are essentially the same," and "Europe must not become Euroshima." Oliver Scholz, moderator of the MUSIKEXPRESS of Karl-Marx-Stadt, supplied the recipe: "One of the opportunities offering for us disc jockeys, for example, is the use of the many peace songs sung by our rock groups...thus drawing attention to the necessity for struggling against the NATO rearmament without breaking out of the framework of disco." And six students of fashion design at the East Berlin College of Art designed patterns of peace doves to be applied to T-shirts "by means of Repatex transfers." They announced in the FDJ newspaper JUNGE WELT that "we want to identify with the concerns of our struggle for peace by means of fashionable clothing."

One peace demonstration of a very special kind was the swearing-in of NVA recruits on the site of the former Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Faced by the concentration camp monument, flanked by two cannon with upturned barrels and two tanks, the young soldiers swore "at the side of the Soviet Army...to defend socialism against all enemies and offering my life for the achievement of victory." Addressing them, Heinz Kube, first kreis secretary of the Oranienburg SED, warned: "The beautiful words 'create peace without weapons'...are to lull us; but they lack any sense of realism." The imperialists aim to destroy the military opponent so as to liquidate socialism. "We therefore stick with Martin Luther," hypocritically said the party official, "who--450 years ago--pointed out that there can be no peace without arms." The concluding military ceremony was macabre indeed: The 18-20 year old NVA soldiers goosestepped past the party leaders and the commander--straight across the former assembly square of Sachsenhausen camp.

"However gladly we will one of these days scrap our weapons--socialism and peace still need our plowshares and our swords," intoned Defense Minister Hoffmann when justifying the new defense legislation to the GDR People's Chamber--outfitted in full uniform. Thus the GDR counters the Bible text used by the Protestant Church in the GDR as the epigraph of its work for peace: "Swords into plowshares." The Church leaders emphasized that these words by the prophet Micah "unequivocally mean that devices for making war must be made into devices for peace, and that means disarmament." Though, in this age of mechanized farming, many young people do not know

exactly what plowshares are, the Old Testament slogan has become the cue word of religious commitment to peace and--at the same time--a challenge to the state.

The State Secretary's Warning

Initially the patch bearing the quotation from the prophet was commissioned by the Church and designed by a GDR graphic artist for the peace decade of Evangelical Youth in 1981. The patch features a representation of the monument by sculptor Evgeniy Vuchetich, presented to the United Nations by the Soviet Union in 1961. In May 1982 a Radio Moscow commentator praised it as "one of the outstanding works of Soviet art": "The image of Soviet man, cast in bronze, who changes swords into plowshares, this sculpture found a tremendous echo and political significance everywhere." The East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE (No 1/1982) approvingly interpreted the words of the prophet Micah and linked them with the question: "What Marxist would wish to assert that religious belief in such a form is to be considered reactionary?" Despite Soviet and philosophical backing for the Church's symbol, the GDR security forces were aroused when the emblem suddenly turned into a sign of universal recognition among a minority of GDR citizens who subjectively count themselves among a "peace movement" not influenced by the government. Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, said that the patch is being "misused to proclaim views hostile to the state and involvement in an illegal political movement." This statement had its effect: Some people took the patch off their sleeves at the bidding of teachers or policemen, others did so voluntarily in order not to be incriminated as provocateurs.

The Fate of the "Construction Soldiers"

The early months of this year were the time of birth of that which is often--and irresponsibly--described in the West as the "GDR peace movement," sometimes with the addition of misleading adjectives such as "autonomous," "dissident" and even "illegal." The extensive favorable reporting by GDR media on the Western peace movement aroused some thousands of people to the hope that similar initiatives could not easily be banned in their country either. On the other hand everyone knows that no autonomous organization outside state institutions is possible. Consequently the GDR peace movement is an accumulation of lone wolves, of non-communicating and uncoordinated initiatives that occasionally happen to meet under the roof of the Protestant Church. In the GDR this Church offers the only scope for dissidents to freely converse without fear of difficulties. Writer Juergen Fuchs, deprived of GDR citizenship and now living in West Berlin, sensitively described the present stirrings in the GDR as follows: "Involved here is not so much an organization, rather a kind of motion, a reflection, a difference of opinion, the search for new kinds of agreement and resistance to militarization, censorship and glorification of power."

The government's jittery reaction to the motto "swords into plowshares" attracted far too much attention in the West, misleading many people into overestimating the strength of the GDR peace movement and ascribing to it the same features as to the Western movement. Writer Heinrich Boell, for example, was wrong in assuming that the GDR movement is "the most important satellite of the Western peace movement in Eastern Europe." People in the GDR have only a pitying smile for the unrealistic assertion by former East Berlin economic official Rudolf Bahro, that "the peace movement has already infiltrated the party cadres of the SED." East Berlin Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr contradicted such misjudgments and urgently warned against the FRG to appropriate the GDR peace groups, because that could only harm them.

The staffs of the East Berlin Church were shocked to hear that, at the behest of the Americans, British and French, the police in West Berlin--of all places--had confiscated leaflets displaying the slogan "swords into plowshares" on the occasion of the Allied parade. This event, barely noted by the West German media, sharply illuminates the contradictory manner of Eastern and Western views of their respective peace movements. SED General Secretary Erich Honecker feels "respect and sympathy" for the "courageous people" who proclaim their will to peace in the NATO countries. In his own country he allows people displaying a harmless oatch to be harassed. On the other hand, observant GDR citizens have noted that some Western politicians and journalists argue with forked tongues by applauding all signs of dissent in the GDR as courageous actions while describing demonstrators in Hamburg, Bonn or Munich as members of a communist underground.

Up to now the GDR peace groups have had no visible success. The government resolutely blocked and assessed as "hostile to the constitution" the initiative to substitute a "social peace service" for the (unarmed) "construction soldier" service in the NVA, the only possible alternative for conscientious objectors. Similarly unsuccessful have been all attempts to ease the fate of the "construction soldiers" who are compelled to accept adverse after effects in their subsequent professional lives. This hopeless outlook does not encourage active involvement. Any commitment is also made more difficult by the fact that the peace groups may not try for any publicity but must be satisfied with word of mouth propaganda. It took 2 days for the GDR public to learn of the peace forum in Dresden's Holy Cross Church, attended by 5,000 people last February. The source of information was Western television. The Protestant Church leaders are anxious for West German correspondents to be very circumspect indeed when reporting events such as a "peace workshop" or discussions in church halls because they would rather not increase the suspicions of a government with a very low threshold of tolerance.

The cautious approach of the Protestant Church--the Catholic bishops are remaining in the background altogether--does, though, meet growing criticism among those followers of the peace movement, who are not Christians. Comments are heard such as "the ministers have courage, but when matters get serious, they hold back." At the same time such highly touted events as the "Berlin encounter" of writers from East and West in December 1981 or the television appearances by some GDR writers are viewed with some skepticism too. Domestic critics argue that "this simulates a freedom of opinion and speech that does not really exist in our country."

11698

CSO: 2300/403

CHURCH-STATE ANTAGONISM OVER PEACE MOVEMENT ANALYZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 9 Sep 82 p 4

[Article signed 'sk' datelined Berlin, early September: "The Conflict Between Churches and State in the GDR--Differing Evaluations of the Peace Movement"]

[Text] Relations between church and state in the GDR are strained by government authorities' proceedings against members of the Christian Peace Movement as well as by the militarization of public life which is particularly directed against the young people. While neither the Evangelical nor the Catholic church are shrinking from the conflict which touches upon man's Christian conscience, they do react in differing ways to the challenge by the communist state.

The Catholics' More Aloof Attitude

While the Evangelical Council of Churches in the GDR assumes the label of "church within socialism" and thus tries to express that it is not a basically opposed to the political system, the attitude of the Catholic church toward the state is more aloof. In a sermon entitled "Serving the Peace in Our Historic Hour," the apostolic administrator of Erfurt, Bishop Wancke, has attempted to outline the position of the Catholic church in the GDR. Using the motto "the church in a secularized, materialistic environment," Wancke consciously puts some distance between himself and the Evangelical church. The formula "church within socialism" is too neutral for his taste in view of the threat posed by political and practical materialism.

The differing position between the Evangelical and the Catholic churches toward the communist regime manifested itself also in the congratulatory messages on the occasion of Honecker's 70th birthday. The Evangelical Council of Churches acclaimed the chairman of the council of state as a "partner in dialogue who is ready to show understanding." Simultaneously, Magdeburg's Bishop Krusche, who transmitted the Council of Churches' birthday greetings, expressed the wish that that the state-church relationship, as defined in a talk with Honecker in 1978, be further expanded. The Catholic church's greetings do not contain wishes of a similar nature, nor is there an acclamation of the GDR's communist chief of state as an individual who is prepared to muster understanding for church matters. It is characterized by maintaining a certain distance between church and state leaderships, while at the same time professing readiness for conducting a direct dialogue.

Criticism of the Official "Peace Policy"

One of the reasons for the difference in attitudes of the two church leaderships may lie in the fact that, unlike the Evangelical church, the Catholic church is a diaspora church. This fact also determines the critical distance of the Catholic church leadership from the Christian peace movement. The church leadership points out that the situation of the Catholic church in the GDR is different from that of the Evangelical church. Being a diaspora church, it has unobstructed access to its followers. The attendance at Catholic services, they continue, is much greater in the GDR than that of the Evangelical church. Furthermore, that the role of the church as a forum in which its adherents receive explanations of a critical attitude toward the GDR's official "peace policy" and toward the militarization of public life has a different impact and quality from that of the Evangelical church. This position by the Catholic church in the GDR is intended to prevent a direct conflict with the state over the Christian peace movement by restricting the discussion of this subject to church matters.

However, this attitude by the Catholic church leadership has provoked heavy criticism among the faithful. The "Halle Action Circle," a discussion group of priests and laymen, has demanded in a thesis that the "question of peace" become a compulsory public dialogue at all levels of the Catholic church in the GDR. It should voice the criticism that the faithful, along with the entire Catholic church in the GDR, had failed to adhere to the postulate of the significance of peace. The Catholic bishops, along with a considerable portion of the Catholic intelligentsia, who wish to avoid the public debate about the "peace question" demanded by the "Halle Action Circle," have reproached the authors of the thesis catalogue for showing a somewhat dangerous unconcern in dealing with political and societal realities, as well as a lack of solidarity with the church leadership.

The attitude of the GDR's Evangelical Council of Churches, which as the "church within socialism" is in favor of public debate on the "peace question," simultaneously demonstrates its distance from the Catholic church leadership on this issue. By using the formula "church within socialism," it seeks to make it quite clear that the Evangelical church in the GDR is not a "private cult" church. In talks with the communist state leadership, the church leaders have therefore also indicated that their work is not limited to church services, but that it seeks to encompass the entire life of its adherents.

Sole Representative Authority of the "Peace Council"

By making this demand, it has, unlike the Catholic church which is more adroit tactically, provoked a public conflict with the state on the question of the Christian peace movement. The communist-directed Peace Council of the GDR has renewed its claim of sole representative authority with respect to the "peace movement." At a reception by the "GDR Peace Council" on the occasion of the "Worldwide Day of Peace," Honecker declared that communist organization was the "official peace movement of the country" and is the unique representative of all classes, groups and generations.

While neither the Evangelical nor the Catholic church of the GDR shrink from conflict with the state in questions concerning the Christian peace movement, appearances are that the Catholic church leadership wishes to maintain its distance from the state, unlike the Evangelical Council of Churches, which, as "the church within socialism," seeks to diminish it. The Catholics, by maintaining their distance, appear to have preserved for themselves greater maneuvering latitude with respect to the burning issue of the Christian peace movement.

Catholic Criticism of the Peace Movement

This distance further permits the Catholic church to pronounce public criticism of tendencies within the Christian peace movement. Erfurt's Archbishop Wancke, who rejects absolute pacifism, warns against simplistic peace slogans such as "Let's do away with the nuclear bomb" and "create peace." In contrast with the Evangelical church, Wancke points out during the present peace debate among Christians in the GDR that "the balance of opposing powers" has to date prevented an outbreak of war.

9273

CSO: 2300/401

REGIME'S MEASURES TO CO-OPT 'DISCOTHEQUE CULTURE' DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Sep 82 p 23

/Feuilleton' feature article by Harald Budde: "Dance Joints--Discotheque Culture in the GDR"

/Text' Friday night in "Disco 11." To the accompaniment of bass guitars and strobe lights, young Berliners disport themselves on the dance floor. A disc jockey supplies visitors with the latest hits. In the comfortable corner booths, people scream at one another above the noise. The mood is pleasant. This youth discotheque, managed by FDJ members, is located at 37 French Street, East Berlin. It used to be a restaurant, "Lucullus." Remodeled, generously equipped and painted in bright colors, it has been receiving guests for the past few months.

For many years the GDR considered discotheques an expression of Western decadence. SED and FDJ tried to instead enthuse youth for the song movement. When these efforts failed, the officials yielded. In 1976 GDR mass media embarked on a strenuous campaign for loosening up entertainment. In the words of Werner Rackwitz, deputy minister for culture, "young people and all workers have a right to relaxation and diversion from everyday cares, so that they may be fully able the next day to cope with the tasks of socialist reality."

At the same time the SED established definite limits to the cautious liberalization of entertainment arts by publishing a special "discotheque order." Disc jockeys were renamed "record entertainers" and later "disco moderators." Only 40 percent of the music played could originate in "capitalist foreign countries," while the other 60 percent had to come from the GDR and the "socialist fraternal countries." Unfortunately, whenever the moderators respected the program quotas, they were jeered and made to suffer other signs of displeasure from the disco visitors. Now most GDR discotheques almost exclusively run tapes made of Western radio broadcasts, because Western records cannot be obtained without foreign exchange.

In recent weeks I visited various places in the Mark Brandenburg, and wherever I went I noticed brightly colored posters advertising forthcoming disco events: "Eco 77," "Centrum," "Sound 2000." Discotheques are available in all larger GDR cities, and smaller cities are regularly visited by mobile discos--kreis houses of culture or FRJ clubs are converted into youth dance halls for 1 or 2 days. Traveling disco moderators and their staffs supply the technical equipment.

Among the often crowded facilities is the East Berlin youth club "Karl Liebknecht." In answer to the question why so many young people visit the club, club manager Holger Schindler says: "In the first place it is due to our discotheque and mid-night events, particularly popular among young married couples. We engage only moderators who are able to supply information to the public as well as good music. We organize quizzes and games, even fashion shows. Moreover, our programs allocate a good deal of time to the exchange of opinions regarding economic, political and cultural issues."

A 20-year old East Berlin electrician explains the attraction of discotheques as follows: "They are a bit different from our usually dismal bars." And with a sly wink he adds: "In a disco we can let ourselves go and forget the daily routine. Here young people are among themselves."

Discotheques are indeed extremely popular among GDR youth. The 5,500 disco moderators stick to programs that allow the young people to dance to their music. Jeans predominate, there is barely a trace of glitter-glamor. Prices of drinks and cold plates are very low indeed--even when we take into account the fact that earnings in the GDR are lower than in the FRG. One cola drink and one "SV (Soviet vodka) together cost M2.60 on the average, a small glass of beer about 60 pfennig. Admission prices normally range from M1-5. Even an impecunious apprentice can afford that.

Yet discotheques have become a sore point with some SED and FDJ officials. This has various reasons. One reader wrote to the JUNGE WELT: "As an FDJ official I consider dances for young people to be events where they should feel really at ease instead of--as happens in many villages hereabouts--young people drinking too much and may-be getting into fights." According to the JUNGE WELT again, 16-year old Christian does not like it "when disco nights end with people staggering about and talking nonsense because they have had too much to drink."

In the past 12 years, ever since the first timid attempts at discotheques, these facilities have been repeatedly under fire. The FDJ journal FORUM, for example, wrote: "The question of the content of musically organized sociability must be put in all seriousness...It should encourage us to review attitudes or resume them, so that our artistic and political needs do not turn into an eclectic pluralism."

SED and FDJ fear the young people's overriding interest in pop music, because they consider it an increasing attachment to individualism. Willingness to serve in paramilitary organizations is suffering more and more by comparison with apolitical leisure pursuits. The FORUM therefore warned: "However much we are solicitous to satisfy the steadily growing need for sociability and dance, we should not be seduced into the unconditional rendition of music desired by the public."

To reinforce political influence on the discotheque and elevate the standard of youth dance halls, the SED and FDJ have launched various measures in recent years. There is, for instance, a "central performance comparison" for disco moderators. The responsible agencies are the Ministry for Culture and the FDJ Central Council. Disco moderators are trained in rhetoric and ideology. At the same time the bezirk academies for culture hold regular discotheque workshops, disco exchanges and disco film fairs, because--according to the East Berlin journal MELODIE UND RHYTHMUS--the SED and FDJ wish for the total program of any discotheque to "contribute to the evolution of superior cultural and educational needs and, therefore, to the development of socialist personalities by linking entertainment, sociability, topical information and education."

POLAND

GDANSK MAYOR INTERVIEWED ON RETURN TO NORMALCY, YOUTH UNREST

Vilnyus SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 20 Jul 82, p 3

[Interview with Kazimierz Rynkowski, mayor of Gdansk by APN [NOVOSTI News Agency] staff correspondent in Gdansk B. Alekseyev: "We Are Able to Solve Our Problems"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Mayor: The martial law in Poland during these 6 months--

[Answer] Has it helped to normalize life in the country as a whole and specifically in Gdansk? Well, let us go back to the situation in Gdansk before martial law was declared. There was an increase in the number of transgressions, both economic and criminal. In this period chaos and disorganization ensued in practically every area of social life. A simply catastrophic situation developed in the fields which are directly related to the everyday needs of the citizens: in trade, municipal services and public health. The extreme measures taken by the authorities did not produce the expected results because the extremists from the [independent union] Solidarity countered them with a full boycott.

Martial law brought this perilous process to a halt. I make no secret of the fact that it brought to the citizens a number of difficulties and restrictions. But it served as a starting point in the normalization process and enabled us to check the anarchy and licentiousness. The political opposition--I emphasize that it was truly political--lost its influence on the course of events. There evolved the conditions for normal functioning of the legal institutions.

[Question] It is apparent to everyone that the residents of Gdansk quickly gained a feeling of personal security. But there is another aspect of daily living--trade, services and work.

[Answer] Have you seen the lines in the stores? Don't they seem to you shorter? Note that the demand for the regulated goods is now being met in full; many items are still on the shelves and are always on sale.

But now it is summer and we need to recall the situation of several months ago. I believe that the discipline of martial law helped us to survive the severe winter without complications.

Today normal work is in progress in Gdansk, work complicated only by the difficulties which have not been overcome in the matter of providing the people with materials. The slump in production has been checked. And in those sectors which are less dependent on import one can even see an increase in production.

As compared to the same period in 1981, in the first quarter of the current year the level of production reached 205 percent at the Gdansk repair shipyard, 147 percent at the northern shipyard, and 150 percent at the ship equipment factory Tekhvor. Successful work is being done by many factories whose output is going directly to the stores, as for example, the knitted fabrics firm Vzlina.

The stepping up of social and labor disciplines was also immediately reflected in productivity, which has been increasing, albeit slowly.

[Question] We know that there were street disturbances in Gdansk on 30 January and 3 May. Who organized them? The western press talks about repressive measures against the workers. What can you say about this, Comrade Mayor?

[Answer] The end of January and April were periods of especially frantic antisocialist propaganda, inspired by the American administration. It nourished the hope for the population's active resistance to the authorities. They counted particularly on Gdansk, where as you know, the strategy of the Solidarity extremists took shape. They exploited the difficult economic situation which, incidentally, was exacerbated by the anti-Polish economic policy of President Reagan.

[Question] What impact do you think this propaganda had on the people?

[Answer] The impact was on the young people, who, as you know, are more easily incited to rash actions. Besides, the events showed that the street disturbances and excesses were not "spontaneous." They were prepared beforehand. This indicates that there are still operating in the country forces which do not refrain from provocations and which are at least of all interested in public calmness and the country's emergence from crisis.

The participants in the disorders were largely young and very young people. Of the 402 persons arrested on 3 March, 61 were youngsters who were at first taken to the children's rooms of the police and then turned over to their parents. Twenty-four persons had never worked at all. Only 279 persons were over 25 years of age.

Unfortunately, it is true that some of the young people who are being subjected to the enemy propaganda of Radio Free Europe and Voice of America have their heads filled with a political jumble. But what do these young people have in common with the workers? The fact that the western press gets

reports about repressions against the workers in Gdansk--not the first falsehood and apparently not the last about Poland.

[Question] You became mayor of Gdansk in January, in a difficult and turbulent time. What problems are at the center of attention of the city administration?

[Answer] We have many problems which require solution. The economic situation is difficult, the assets are few, and we are trying to adapt the budget to the potentialities and requirements of economic reform. And occupying the paramount place in this endeavor is, as you know, the problem of efficiency. For the development of the city infrastructure we were this year allocated 15 billion zloty. The bulk of these funds is being used to complete the work already begun under the measures adopted.

Especially acute is the problem of housing construction. This year we expect to turn over 2,000 apartments for occupancy. In addition, we are encouraging construction with the organization's own manpower and we expect 5,000 more apartments from this source. Broad support is being given to the initiative of the enterprises, as for example the "Lenin Shipyard," where the commission on social problems, in collaboration with the administration, is taking concrete measures to build 2,000 apartments for the enterprise's workers. A large city hospital is being built at accelerated rates.

Well, speaking of the fact that the period is a difficult one, you know what a bitter thing it is when you see foolish young people destroying what their fathers made. The disturbances of 3 May cost the city 10 million. And bear in mind that we are accountable for every zloty.

[Question] Military operational groups are now participating in the affairs of the city. How effective is their intervention in purely "establishment" affairs?

[Answer] The army representatives who are cooperating with us very quickly familiarized themselves with the affairs which are new to them. And if you remember that in Poland people in military uniforms traditionally command respect, then their help in several fields is simply invaluable. They do not put up with any bureaucratism and the residents of the city are glad to turn to them for help in resolving their urgent matters.

[Question] Comrade Mayor, in the West there are many who do not believe that the Poles can resolve their problems by themselves. What do you think about this?

[Answer] The question is pointless and I can answer it with a question: if not us, the Poles, who else will resolve our problems? Nothing will be done for us and no one can do this better than we can. We are already doing this now despite the hatred of the imperialist circles and despite the provocations and hostile attacks which are inspired by the western intelligence centers.

I have not the slightest doubt that we can ourselves solve our problems. But it is also obvious that in resolving the very complex internal problems we rely on getting help. And we get this help from our friends: the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialist concord.

7962

CSO: 1807/134

PROFESSOR INTERVIEWED ON PHYSICAL CULTURE DRAFT LAW

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 July 82 p 8

[Interview with Prof Zbigniew Drozdowski, head of the drafting committee preparing draft law on physical culture, by Andrzej Pac- Pomarnacki; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Who are the initiators of this undertaking and what are their motives?

[Answer] There were postulates for quite some time, in various circles connected to physical culture by professional and social activity to reflect their role, principles and place in the social life of the country in a single, large, legal act of an appropriate rank. These postulates converged with the suggestions that were put forward by the Sejm Commission for Health and Physical Culture.

[Question] What are the considerations behind the endeavors to procure an act of the highest order--is physical culture dissatisfied with the current legal status?

[Answer] Attentive observers of social phenomena can see it clearly, and most participants in social life are generally aware of the magnitude of progress in the field to which we are devoted. Over the past decades, physical culture has become immensely popular and in its popularity has surpassed many competitors (especially such expressive forms as sports); above all, its new (or rather, potentially always existing) value as a factor in the protection of the biological existence of man becomes more and more clearly visible. The urbanization which moves upon us in not always rational ways, interruptions in the movement needs of man--these are the results of civilization that have reached dramatic dimensions. For that reason--as was stated during the First Scientific Congress of Physical Culture (Poznan, 1979)--physical culture advances to a level of extraordinary importance (both theoretically and programatically) in spheres of activity directed at the protection of human existence and concern for the development and progress of men. Physical culture needs to be treated today as a wholly social issue, and if so, its social phenomenon ought to be defined by distinct principles shaped into formal frames of rules that would delineate clear roles and responsibilities for those who actively participate in it, and those who are responsible for it.

[Question] How long has there been work on the draft law?

[Answer] Formally, it can be said that organized group efforts began over 1 year ago when, by the decision of the Chairman of the GKKFiS [Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sport], the team that I am in charge of was established. The initial team members were scientists and legal experts and later its composition was enlarged by representatives of the social movement and sport activists. Prior to the formulation of the content of specific chapters, the team conducted many studies and discussions over numerous aspects of "the sport law" and as a result of these efforts the so called "Assumptions of the Draft Law" were first prepared. That version of the document was submitted for discussion at the Little Congress of Physical Culture (Warsaw, June, 1981). The comments from that gathering served as the guidelines for further work which produced the successive version of the draft law, submitted to the plenum of GKKFiS a month ago. Following a full day of plenary debate, a new version has emerged and this one has been distributed for broad commentary from the professional milieu. We are waiting for comments, opinions and suggestions, and this is a very important moment in the law's process.

[Question] What type of difficulties are being faced in creating this document? What kind of obstacles await the drafters?

[Answer] The difficulties are mainly related to the complexity of the phenomena that we set out to delineate within the framework of a legal document, since all kinds of spheres of activities are reflected in the document--voluntary and compulsory, social and professional. Another characteristic of physical culture (although not equally applicable to all its branches: physical education, sports, recreation, and rehabilitation) is its exceptional dynamic of changes and developments and the richness of its forms. Still another is the various connections of physical culture; I'm speaking here of the ties between culture and economy, politics, upbringing, health protection, etc. Now an ill-designed law--too rigid in its framework--could restrain the development of physical culture; limiting the freedom of actions important for its development. Finally, for obvious reasons, that document cannot be too particular, filled with small details. It would be nonsensical if the document were transformed into a catalog of rules now in force. It must open up some prospects for this field of life in our country!

[Question] Are there any good models in this matter on which you could rely?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we had to start a pioneer, totally unassisted work. Besides, it ought to be remembered at this point that there is a necessity to retain our tradition in the field, our views and customs. The considerations of the system--the huge obligations that the state accepts upon itself--are also of import.

[Question] Professor, are you satisfied with the present draft law?

[Answer] As I have mentioned, in accordance with the recommendations of the resolution by the earlier-mentioned plenum of GKKFiS, we have turned to the broad circle of our professional milieu for evaluation, even more, consultation on the project; the professional circle will express the opinion that will be most important to us. Personally, I tend toward the view that the present

version of the document is--in spite of many efforts invested in its preparation--a successive stage in getting nearer to the final format. We are in the important phase of discussion and the views produced during it will be taken under consideration in the final stage of the work on the law.

[Question] Professor, what kind of reaction are you expecting from other millieus whose representatives will speak out on the topic during the consecutive work on the project?

[Answer] This will be a test of the social understanding of the role and significance of physical culture, of understanding its sense and values in the life of our society. I would be very disappointed if it turned out that not all of us have "grown up" to such a law. I do hope that the matter will have a favorable outcome.

9952

CSO: 2600/891

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--By decision of the minister of science, higher education and technology, Prof Tadeusz Srodulski, longtime resident at Krakow Technical University, has been appointed rector of that school. Prof Srodulski is a research-teaching employee at the school-industrial motor vehicle and internal combustion engine center and is a well-known specialist in the field of internal combustion engines. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/4

HONECKER REPLIES TO CEAUSESCU BIRTHDAY MESSAGE

AU140848 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Sep 82 p 4

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I want to cordially thank the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and you personally for the congratulations conveyed on my 70th birthday and for the high state order of the Socialist Republic of Romania awarded me.

I share your conviction that by consistently implementing our joint agreements we will continuously expand and deepen our political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations, and the cooperation between our parties and states in the international arena, for the benefit of our peoples and of the cause of peace and socialism.

Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, permit me to wish you great success in your highly responsible work, good health and personal happiness.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, president of the GDR State Council

CSO: 2700/370

LEADERS GREET BULGARIAN LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU091116 Bucharest AGERPRESS in English 0925 GMT 9 Sep 82

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Sep (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania and Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, sent to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of Bulgaria and to Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria a congratulatory telegram on the 38th anniversary of the triumph of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, which reads: The working people in socialist Romania sincerely rejoice at the remarkable achievements of the industrious Bulgarian people, under the leadership of its communist party, in the multilateral construction and advance of the fatherland on the road of socialism and communism, in the rise of the material and spiritual standard of living.

Our party and government are highly appreciative of the Romanian-Bulgarian friendly collaboration, of the decisive role the summit dialogue plays in the many-sided development of the relations between our parties and countries, which assert themselves more and more as an example of relations between neighbour socialist and friendly states, between free and independent peoples which fruitfully collaborate on a bilateral plane and in the international arena.

Under the present international circumstances, our countries make their contribution to the lessening of interstate tension, to make the political settlement of the states of tension and conflict, for the resumption of the policy of peace, detente, disarmament, collaboration and observance of all peoples' national independence.

We express our conviction that, working together for the translation into fact of the decisions and agreements covenanted during our meetings and talks, the relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between our parties and countries will expand and consolidate more and more, in the interest of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace, of understanding and collaboration in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world over.

CSO: 2700/370

ROMANIA

LCY'S RIBICIC GREETES CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU310741 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, Bucharest:

On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania I want to extend, on behalf of the presidium of the LCY Central Committee and myself, most cordial congratulations to you, the RCP Central Committee, to all communists and your country's people, as well as best wishes for the constant multifaceted development and the prosperity of socialist Romania.

I want to take this opportunity to express satisfaction with the successful development of friendly relations and cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our countries, as well as the desire that those relations and this cooperation develop successfully in the future, too. On the bases that were established during meetings between Comrade Tito and yourself, esteemed Comrade Ceausescu. We are convinced that the development of relations of good neighborliness and friendly cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our two socialist countries in the constant interests of the Yugoslav and Romanian peoples and contributes to strengthening international cooperation on the basis of equality of rights and to the struggle for peace, social progress and socialism in the world.

[Signed] Mitja Ribicic, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee

CSO: 2700/370

CEMA'S FADEYEV GREETES CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU301329 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on behalf of the CEMA Secretariat and on my own behalf, I want to congratulate you and all Romanian people on the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania--the 38th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist yoke.

During the years that have elapsed, the Romanian people, under RCP leadership and by mobilizing their resources and with the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, recorded, in a relatively short historical period, excellent results in socialist construction and in turning their country from a backward country into a modern industrial-agrarian state; and at this point the Romanian people are implementing the 12th Party Congress decisions which envisage new dimensions in building the developed socialist society.

On the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we wish the Romanian people new successes in building socialism. We wish you personally much good health and further successes in your multifaceted activity devoted to the interests of the Romanian people and to strengthening the indestructible friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and to the cause of consolidating peace and social progress throughout the world.

With deep esteem,

[Signed] N. Fadeyev, CEMA secretary

CSO: 2700/370

SRV LEADERS SEND GREETINGS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU260755 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Romania's liberation from fascist domination, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Communist Party [VCP], the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV], and on our own behalf, we want to convey warmest congratulations to you, and through you to the Romanian people, the RCP, the GNA, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In the past 38 years, the Romanian people, led by the RCP, have wrought innumerable profound changes in their country. From a country with a backward agriculture and a poorly developed industry destroyed in the fascist war, Romania has become a socialist country with modern industry, developed agriculture and advanced culture and science, while the people's living standard is continuously growing.

The Vietnamese people greatly rejoice in the great achievements of the fraternal Romanian people.

On this occasion, the Vietnamese people sincerely hope that the Romanian people, led by the RCP and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, will further obtain new and numerous successes in implementing the tasks of the 12th RCP Congress, designed to advance the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society in their beautiful country.

May the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Romania and between their parties further strengthen and develop, in the interests of our peoples, and of socialism and peace in the world.

[Signed] Le Duan, secretary general of the VCP Central Committee

Truong Chinh, president of the State Council of the SRV

Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers

Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly

CSO: 2700/369

ROMANIA

CASTRO GREETES CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU260753 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Romania's victory over fascism, we want to convey to the people, Communist Party, State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania sincere congratulations and fraternal greetings on behalf of the people, Communist Party, State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba.

On this occasion I want to wish you new successes in implementing the important objective of building a socialist society, and to express our satisfaction with the close relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples, parties and governments.

On this anniversary I want to wish the Romanian people progress, happiness and peace.

[Signed] Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

CSO: 2700/369

ROMANIA

MONGOLIAN LEADERS SEND GREETINGS ON 23 AUGUST

AU260757 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear comrades, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural and of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], of all Mongolian people and ourselves, we want to convey to you, to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to the fraternal Romanian people sincere congratulations on the occasion of the national anniversary of the Socialist Republic of Romania--the 38th anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke.

During the years of people's power, the Romanian people, led by the RCP and in cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, attained brilliant successes in building socialism; they turned their country into a socialist state with modern industry, intensive agriculture and developed culture.

We note with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries are continuously developing on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, in the interests of the Mongolian and Romanian peoples and of the general cause of socialism and international peace and cooperation.

On this important day, we wish you, dear comrades and the fraternal Romanian people further successes in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions and in the struggle for peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

[Signed] Y. Tsedenbal, secretary general of the MPRP Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural

J. Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers

CSO: 2/00/369

ISRAEL'S PERES GREETES CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU301305 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] To his excellency Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Esteemed Mr President, I would like to extend warmest congratulations to you personally and the RCP on the 38th anniversary of the Romanian people's national day, a day when your people freed themselves from the fascist and antidemocratic forces.

Under your leadership, your country has achieved a great number of important successes and I wish you success in continuing to record successes in the activity you are carrying out for the cause of peace and international co-operation.

I hope that the special friendly relations which are developing between our two countries, parties and peoples will continue in this manner and even strengthen in the future.

Please accept, Mr President, sincere wishes on behalf of the Israel Labor Party and cordial greetings on my own behalf.

Yours, with esteem,

[Signed] Shimon Peres, chairman of the Israel Labor Party

CSO: 2700/369

ROMANIA

AFGHANISTAN'S KARMAL GREETES CEAUSESCU ON NATIONAL DAY

AU301302 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug. 82 p 3

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the happy occasion of Romania's national day, on behalf of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council, the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and on my own behalf, I take great pleasure in extending our warmest congratulations to you, the RCP and the fraternal Romanian people.

I am fully convinced that the amicable and fraternal relations between our parties, peoples and governments will develop and strengthen even more to the benefit of the two peoples of ours and in the interest of strengthening peace throughout the world.

Comrade, please accept our best wishes for personal happiness and increasingly greater successes and our wishes for progress and prosperity to the fraternal people of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

[Signed] Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and head of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

CSO: 2700/369

BACKGROUND, DENOUEMENT OF TANASE 'DISAPPEARANCE'

Tanase Ridicules Ceausescu

Paris LE MATIN in French 31 Aug 82 p 9

[Text] The awkwardness of an irreverent adolescent, irony, insolence, revolt, astuteness.... The writings, the plays of Virgil Tanase, born in 1945, as well as his translations (Balzac, Gombrowicz) make the Romanian censors turn pale. At the age of 21, he has been denied admittance to the university. At 29, he is forbidden to produce plays. The censors finally request firmly that he leave the country.

In 1977, Virgil Tanase, who is today 37 years old, settled in France. In Paris, he studied, published, wrote. Without ever dropping from his pen and verve the regime of his native country. In Romania, Virgil Tanase and Paul Goma (another Romanian writer in exile) are treated as "drivelling fools, scandalmongers, tedious mountebanks, appalling centurions." In 1979, Virgil Tanase assumed French nationality.

Last January, he published a devastating article on the Romanian regime in ACTUEL titled "His Majesty Ceausescu I, King of the Communists." He pokes fun at the Ceausescu "dynasty" with true joy: "The Spanish press deplored Mrs Ceausescu's habit of adjusting her most intimate pieces of clothing in public. The Texan newspapers were surprised over Mr Ceausescu's conceit: He insisted on having a red carpet put out for a factory visit...." The tone is light in nature but the information is vitriolic. Corruption, nepotism, miners' strikes, establishment of free trade unions, party purges, everything goes.

On 20 May of this year, around 9 am, Virgil Tanase left his resident at the Place de la Bastille where his wife, two children and their grandmother are staying, to go to the Luxembourg Garden where he had a rendezvous with someone who was supposed to have proposed a translation for him. He was never to be seen again. His wife very quickly became concerned. His friends were afraid of an attack by Securitate, The Bucharest political police. On 24 May, a preliminary investigation was opened against X for illegal arrest and illegal restraint of person.

On 9 June, during his press conference, President Francois Mitterrand stated: "If it were proven, a tragic hypothesis, that Mr Tanase has disappeared and was not to reappear, that would seriously damage the nature of relations between Romania and France."

On 10 June, about 100 persons gathered in front of the Romanian Embassy in Paris to protest Virgil Tanase's disappearance. On the same day, the Romanian Embassy issued a communique denying that Romania was involved in the Tanase case.

In July, President Mitterrand's visit to Romania, scheduled for the 20th, was cancelled. Officially, for scheduling reasons. In the meanwhile, it became evident that the writer had received threats. Numerous theories were put forward on this disappearance.

The Flammarion publishers (where he is collections director) announced that on 2 September his third novel "L'Amour, l'Amour [Love, Love], a sentimental one, written directly in French, would come out.

Details on 'Kidnaping'

Paris LE MATIN in French 31 Aug 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Virgil Tanase Refound"]

[Text] The writer, who had disappeared since last May, was scheduled to be executed by a Romanian secret agent. However, the latter had forewarned French authorities in exchange for the right of asylum. For 3 months, the DST [Directorate of Territorial Surveillance] pretended that Tanase had been liquidated. The man decided to cross over to the West. And what he told French police inspectors is dumbfounding but certainly in conformity with the methods of Securitate, the Romanian political police.

Virgil Tanase has not left France since his mysterious "kidnaping" on 20 May of this year. He had been sheltered by the French counterespionage services, namely the DST, in order to cover the crossing over to the West of an important Romanian intelligence agent and prevent his being liquidated by Securitate (political police of Bucharest).

However, the Tanase case also permitted the French police to dismantle the monstrous criminal machine of the Romanian secret services that actually do not hesitate in liquidating their opponents living as refugees abroad.

Tanase is indeed living but other dissidents have already been executed before him and others are undoubtedly still threatened.

The Romanian-Born writer Virgil Tanase, who disappeared in Paris on 20 May of this year, is doing well. He is spending quiet days in a small corner of the French countryside with his family away from indiscreet looks. However, the case of the "kidnaping" of Virgil Tanase has nothing to do with a hrax of bad taste. To the contrary, it is indeed one of the most tremendous espionage cases of the last few years in which the Romanian regime of Nicolae Ceausescu was involved up to its neck. Double agents, poisons that leave no traces, hired killers, secret services war and, of course, kidnaping, all the ingredients of a bad spy novel all put together.

Everything began in Paris one beautiful day in the beginning of spring, at a time whe, in Bucharest, heads of Securitate, the feared political police of Ceausescu, were falling. The chief of the personal security of the dictator himself was not spared. A few days later, a 40-year old mand of medium height, with a well-shaped black beard, wearing a gray suit, having the gray countenance of a small government employee, went to a plain address near the Saint Augustin Square in Paris. One of the offices of the DST, the French counterespionage service.

The man is a Romanian, and not a nobody. One of the main heads of Securitate. He had decided to go over to the West. And what he told French police inspectors is astounding, but in any case in conformity with the methods of Securitate, the "armed hand of the glorious socialist revolution of Bucharest and of its well-beloved leader."

Emil--let us call him that since up to now his identity still is a state secret--is in France to organize the physical liquidation of two of the most renowned writers who have taken refuge in France to escape persecution in their country: Paul Goma and Virgil Tanase. The two men, especially Goma, had already published several books in France in which they expose the barbarity of the Ceausescu regime. Goma has just written "Les Chiens de Mort" [The Dogs of Death] in which he denounces the reeducation camps where in the 1950's bones were broken, where prisoners were forced to eat their own excrement, and, the ultimate refinement, the prisoners were led to torture each other.

As for Tanase, he had, 2 months earlier, published in the magazine ACTUEL a vitriolic portrait of Ceausescu, of the insane personality cult that surrounds him and the seizure of the entire country by his family. The two texts had been read over Radio Free Europe and largely listened to in Romania. It was a crime of lese majesty that Ceausescu decided to punish in his own way: By the physical elimination of the guilty parties.

Emil is prepared to tell everything he knows on this matter and on the frantic activity of the Romanian secret services in the West. However, he demands that the French police give him all the guarantees that his family, still living in Romania, would be able to leave the country and come to France for protection.

In order to have the time to organize their passage to France and to protect this precious agent, it was therefore necessary that up to the very last moment Bucharest would believe that Emil is faithful and that he is scrupulously carrying out his mission. In agreement with him, the French police will then develop an incredible scenario, a priori harebrained, but which, nevertheless, will go on up to the very end.

Emil needs several months to put his family in a safe place, and his first mission was scheduled to be the poisoning of Paul Goma. One way or another, he had to go into action, otherwise his employers could be surprised. The plan for the elimination of the dissident writer sends shivers up the spine. The Securitate services know that Goma is a cardiac case since they had kept him in their jails for a long time. Therefore, Emil arrived in France with a very special "poison" that the French services analyzed: This scentless, colorless and tasteless product leaves no traces whatsoever 2 hours after its absorption, but it provokes a heart attack to the victim. The plan is therefore simple: Take advantage of a cocktail to put a few drops in Goma's glass, and a little while later the writer would die of an apparently natural heart attack. Who would have the face to accuse Securitate since everybody knows the health problems of the writer! It is more discreet that a kidnaping or even an automobile accident could leave room for a mistake or suspicions.

The Romanian technicians had given Emil an original kind of pen to pour out the liquid: It was supplied with a kind of pump that permitted squirting the poison discreetly into Goma's glass. The latter was informed of the threat which lay on him, and the DST convinced him to get ready for a show that would constitute Emil's alibi. On the occasion of a cocktail party that took place in the beginning of May--3 weeks before Tanase's kidnaping--Emil worked his way into Goma's entourage by pretending that he was an admirer of the writer. He discreetly poured the poison into the wine glass intended for the Romanian. Thus, in the probable case where there would be a witness of the Romanian services in the crowd, he could notice that Emil was doing his job well. Emil indeed was afraid of being himself under surveillance by his compatriots because it is a custom in the Romania of today where no one trusts anyone else to put surveillance on trusted persons. And it was not his fault if, before Goma put the dangerous glass to his lips, a clumsy person upset it on the tablecloth while making an excessively broad gesture. The blunderer, the poisoning spoilsport is, of course, an honorable DST employee. Emil did a good job. As far as his superiors are concerned, he did not have any luck at all, and, in any case, he had been given a year to liquidate Goma. It will be for another time.

Because there still exist other means, less rudimentary than the sinister "Bulgarian umbrella" that had killed a dissident in London a few years ago. The emigres are convinced that the Romanian agents use sophisticated equipment. They mainly question the death of several officials of Radio Free Europe Romanian broadcasts as a result of violent cancer diseases. They are afraid that these diseases were "irradiated" by Romanian agents. One of the victims, Noel Bernard who had succumbed recently in the prime of life and in a period of a few months as a result of such a cancer, had, before dying, mentioned

a mysterious "man with a suitcase." A visitor who had met all the victims and who carried with him a mysterious attache case that he took care to systematically direct at his interlocutors, precisely as if to "irradiate" them if the case did contain assassination materiel. Paranoia, it was thought at the time! With the proof today that Securitate uses so sophisticated poisons, one may begin to take seriously the dissidents' accusations.

As for Emil, he had to continue his miserable task. The momentary failure of Goma's assassination should not cause forgetting the second objective, namely Virgil Tanase.

In this case, the plan laid out by Securitate was not burdened with so many methods of procedure. The mission is simple: Kidnap and liquidate Tanase. Undoubtedly so that the spectacular side of the operation might spread terror among emigre circles. Tanase, less known than Goma, is more vulnerable. All the more so since his bad natured temperament had made nearly all the Romanian exiles angry with him. Securitate can hope that the voices that will be raised in protest will be a few in number.

Of course, Emil is henceforth working with the DST, but Tanase must disappear. Securitate has charged Emil with recruiting a few French thugs to kidnap and kill Tanase. It is no question that the Romanians be directly involved in the case.

This is an old Securitate practice. About 2 years ago, two French thugs went to Munich where they had cut up Georgescu, a former Romanian judge who broadcast programs to Romania over Radio Free Europe, programs that were very much listened to in his country. The German court would never prove that the thugs acted for Securitate. Nevertheless, a year before, a Romanian agent, Radu Rusch, had himself gone over to the West and had stated that he had been assigned to Organize the assassination of Georgescu. He warned, "My passage to freedom will not stop the operation. It is expected that in 2 months a team will come to France to take over." However, he was not taken seriously.

This time, in France, Emil is very seriously taken by the DST. Since there is, of course, no question of hiring thugs to kidnap Tanase, it is the DST itself that will be responsible for the operation. On 20 May, while leaving his residence, Tanase was forcefully taken away in a vehicle at the Place de la Bastille. He is, of course, party to what is going on. He had been informed and he knew that his security would also depend on the proper unfolding of the scenario. At once, he was taken to a discreet place, a place that he would not leave until the denouement.

Just the same, the police are somewhat bothered because witnesses had seen the scene and had rushed to take depositions that the officers in charge of the investigation must note down. The lack of reaction by the police make the unfortunate witnesses think that they are dealing with incompetent people. Too bad!

The news becomes public the next day when Mrs Tanase went to the police station of her quarter to report on the "disappearance" of her husband. She is also au courant but by lodging the complaint she made the case public in such a way as to have Bucharest believe that Emil did a good job. The journalists are surprised over her silence that certain ones attribute to the state of shock she reportedly was in. Since she went to the police station of the quarter in the company of DST officers, certain journalists had deduced, at the least hastily, that Tanase "was a DST agent," passing the case off as a commonplace story of secret police agents. Others recalled the incredible disappearance of another weird writer a few weeks previously. Few people wanted to believe that Tanase had really been kidnaped by Romania. That appeared too serious. At that time, there were undoubtedly only the Securitate officials and the conducator [sic] Ceausescu who were convinced that they had indeed kidnaped and liquidated the dissident.

Nevertheless, the kidnaping thesis is suddenly substantiated at the highest level in France. By Francois Mitterrand at his 9 June press conference in which he recalled "the tragic hypothesis" of the definitive disappearance of Virgil Tanase and very clearly implicated the Romanian authorities. Henceforth, everybody knows that it is a question of an affair of state.

Nevertheless, one may still question as to what the president of the republic knew at that particular time. Because Jean Louis Debre, the examining magistrate who had been given the case, himself took several weeks to have the DST admit that it had organized everything. It was only subsequently that he had all the facts at hand and would reconstruct the puzzle, laying bare the fearsome criminal machine of Securitate. But did Francois Mitterrand know everything on 9 June? At the Elysee, it is being asserted that he personally followed the case day by day. It is certain that very few people were in the know: The DST, of course, magistrate Debre, the minister of interior, and undoubtedly the president. Neither the minister of justice nor the public prosecutor had been informed because any leak have provoked a catastrophe probably a bloody one.

At the end of July, the indefinite postponement of Francois Mitterrand's scheduled trip to Romania in the fall gave still a little more the impression that the case was serious. Of course, the Romanians deny everything. Their ambassador in Paris went as far as publishing a communique in which it is affirmed that "Romania is not involved in any way whatsoever in the Virgil Tanase case." It stated, "This whole campaign that has erupted in France is only an unspeakable provocation (....) carried out by circles hostile to Romanian emigres." Indeed, Bucharest seems to well understand Francois Mitterrand's reaction and did not look too downcast over the cancellation: These are the risks of this kind of operation. Since they are convinced in having succeeded in liquidating Tanase!

During this time, Emil had returned to Romania at the end of June to take advantage of a little rest. And above all to organize the discreet departure of his family. Since he is an important personality, his relatives have no difficulty in obtaining passports "to do some sightseeing" in the West. One by one, they leave Romania. The last arrived in Paris last Friday. The Tanase case is over.

Yesterday, the writer was still "somewhere in France" with his whole family, his wife, two children, mother and mother-in-law. He is thinking of giving a press conference in a few days.

As for Emil, he has been in our country since mid-August. His Bosses sent him "to continue his mission," which permitted him to leave Bucharest without any problem. This time definitely. A supreme irony: On 23 August, the Romanian national holiday, the Bucharest press announced that he had just received one of the highest Romanian honors "for services rendered to the fatherland."

5671

CSO: 3100/948

CAUSES OF ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF YOUTH DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 82 p 42

[Article by Cristian Ionescu: "Social Education and Practice"]

[Text] In issue No 2/1982 of the magazine VIITORUL SOCIAL [Social Future] there is an interesting report regarding several of the causes of anti-social phenomena. The authors, Dan Banciu, Marin Voicu and Nicolae Daringa, present in a realistic and specific perspective the dynamics of delinquency and the efficiency (as well as the inefficiency) of certain methods or working instruments used by the educational authorities in the educational process or, as the case may be, the process of re-education and re-integration of certain young people into the work collectives in Constanta municipality. They reveal that the anti-social or criminal behaviors "have a multi-causal basis representing forms of typical expressions of social non-adaptation and non-integration among certain categories of individuals. This is due to the failure to achieve or the imperfect achievement or disharmonies in their process of socialization and to educational dysfunctions that have occurred in the socio-genesis of certain persons or even groups of persons."

The experiences of recent years show that in this area a rich, precise amount of experience has been accumulated, as shown by the aforementioned study, in the resocialization and reintegration into work of certain criminally punished persons. Despite all this, as the authors note, anti-social deeds and behaviors can nonetheless still be found, as well as cases where the law is broken.

The selection of the area that was researched and the units where the investigations were carried out was motivated by the fact that "among the groups of industrial-urban centers in the country, Constanta municipality still reflects a sufficiently high rate of infractions, especially among the ranks of the young people."

As is shown in the magazine, under the conditions of increasing the degree of territorial and social mobility among certain young people who stem from the rural environment, there is a disintegration, sometimes temporary, sometimes final, of the old family and neighborhood ties and an economic and social restructuring which require the adoption of certain new modes of life and culture and, implicitly, behavioral transformations. The migration of the young village population towards the cities can give birth - in certain situations -

to dangerous behaviors. The opinions of sociologists and legal experts generally converge on this conclusion, one motivated in most cases by the changes that have occurred within the framework of the new lifestyle compared to the traditional (restricted) socioeconomic environment, the aspects of social control and the influence of the family, "which proved to be efficient" in other times.

In addition to such causes of a general nature, some of the anti-social expressions are due to an insufficient amount of concern on the part of the educational authorities in economic units and schools for the socio-vocational integration of certain young people who migrate to the big cities. As practice has shown, some the young people who have committed infractions were left to the whim of circumstances and were dissatisfied with the place of work and the type of work. In many situations, the failure to adhere to certain norms regarding work discipline, unauthorized absences and instability was brought about precisely by a lack of interest in understanding the personalities of young people from a different environment and their aspirations. The authors understand these aspects well, pointing out that social non-integration led to an increase in these young people's interest in other reference groups (street groups, groups of friends). Within these groups, a portion of the people felt they could better achieve their personal interests and goals, "first committing certain pre-infractional activities (loitering, parasitism, excessive consumption of alcohol, physical aggression and so forth) and, in the end, committing certain infractional actions."

These conclusions show how important it is to carry out a specific, diversified educational activity that will combine the requirement to popularize certain behavioral norms through the use of speeches, symposia and case discussions with the permanent concern for achieving the personal interests and needs of young people regarding work salaries, appropriate living and free-time recreational conditions, promotions at work, training and the continuation of educational training.

In those units where the youth organizations, party organizations and work collectives have systematically worked for the integration of young people and the guidance and care that they need in order to adapt to a new socioeconomic and, at the same time, ethical charter, to get material and moral satisfaction from the professional activities, and so forth, these young people have been more quickly integrated, with the level of anti-social expressions clearly decreasing.

An x-ray examination of the education carried out in schools and industrial or agricultural units leads the authors to the opinion that, alongside the good results, educational activities have certain twists and turns and dysfunctional moments and aspects. Some managements in economic units are insufficiently concerned about the problems regarding pay, housing, promotions and civic education for young people. In order to eliminate these shortcomings the authors of the study make a series of proposals that recognize the efficiency of education and its close tie to the realities and requirements of life.

The creation of a "social office" in enterprises, as the authors propose in the study, that will analyze the concerns, interests and aspirations of young people and will contribute to the solution of certain problems in their work and life is very useful. This proposal, as well as others contained in this study, could constitute the subject of a broader discussion among specialists and those who are concerned for the integration and educational of young workers who come from the rural environment.

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CSO: 2700

SHORTCOMINGS OF YOUTH UNION IN COMBATTING ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 82 pp 42-43

[Article by Constantin Dirna, an activist in the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth: "Regarding the Political-Ideological Education of Young People"]

[Text] I feel that the article "The Specific and Complex Nature of Political-Educational Activities," which appeared in issue No 9/1982 of ERA SOCIALISTA under the signature of Matei Simandan, is welcomed in the current context of our party's concern for the intensification of political-ideological activities and for its ties to practice and the realities and requirements of each work collective.

The problems in the education of young people are, as stressed by Matei Simandan, of great complexity and variety, and precisely for that reason a broader discussion is very useful regarding the forms and methods of education that are used by the youth organizations.

I think that the article has a good grasp on a series of realities in the political-educational activities carried out by the youth organizations, thus being of real use to those activists who work in this field. First of all, I agree with the opinion expressed in the article regarding the point that educational work for young people must have a specific nature and an organic connection with social realities and the problems confronting young people's lives and activities, even if some of these appear to be "personal" problems that do not interest the collective.

It is understood that such a requirement involves rejecting narrow, outdated methods for creating socialist awareness in young people that are designed as a unilateral activity, separate from the realities of social affairs, and that do not take in account individual aspects, differences in the activities of various groups of young people, age groups, professional and political training and their general level of culture.

In some of the organizations of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] there still are a series of shortcomings despite the good results obtained in this field - which we do not intend to list here since they are well-known and seen in the affairs of the young work collectives involved in the country's social-economic

development program. The political-educational activities carried out by some youth organizations are still marked by shortcomings at a time when some young people have an incorrect attitude regarding work and education, and express a superficial approach and a poor commitment in fulfilling professional tasks. Anti-social acts are committed by some young people and they maintain outdated, retrograde and mystical mentalities. These are several of the bases that point out the need to give all the political-educational work carried out by the UCY organs and organizations a powerful revolutionary, combative spirit. This spirit must lead to a more active involvement of the younger generation, under the leadership of the UCY organizations, in socioeconomic affairs so as to better respond to the tasks outlined by our party for the younger generation.

The political-educational activities carried out by the youth organizations must give priority to the creation of actional awareness, convictions and habits directly tied to the major requirements of social organization and leadership and the achievement of social-economic objectives. In this manner, education is not transformed into a purpose unto itself, but, on the contrary, is expressed in deeds in work and life conforming to the measures and principles of behavior that are promoted by our socialist society.

Attracting young people into public affairs, their participation in the discussion and solution of the problems confronting the work collective and organizational affairs, and creating a firm public opinion against anti-social expressions constitute the principal directions of the UCY organs and organizations for the strengthening of civic responsibilities regarding the manner in which the country's laws are respected.

In order to be able to obtain the necessary, real adherence of the young people to the absolute respect for law it is necessary for them to know and understand not only the content of the law, but also its meaning and purpose and the obligations stemming from the normative acts that deal with them. Thus, young people will be able to differentiate the legal from the illegal, and the principle that no one is permitted not to know the law will take on a real content and basis.

In their political-ideological and educational activities, the youth organizations must place special stress on instilling in each young person's mind that respect for the law is not only a general civic duty, but also a requirement of daily behavior.

The fact that social behavioral norms are still violated by some young people, as is also shown by Matei Simandan, should have priority in the concerns designed to prevent the commission of violations of legal provisions. Actually, the elimination of any type of deviation from the norms of social behavior and the country's norms is an educational activity. Preventative activities, however, do not have to have a formal content. Such a requirement begins with the fact that, sometimes, legal propaganda and preventative work in

general, which also involve the UCY organs and organizations, are marked in some cases by expressions of formalism, superficiality and a lack of preparation. There are situations where legalistic speeches are made before an insufficiently prepared audience that has been selected at random. In some youth organizations, the mentality still exists that a legal "lecture" helps in preventing certain types of thefts, robberies, rapes, work negligence and so forth. It is not, however, sufficient to ensure a strict, formal understanding of the laws in order to be considered that the legal propaganda work has attained its goal. The "targets" of such sessions or conferences and dialogues on legal subjects do not become knowledgeable in the subjects. The spirit of the law must be explained to them sooner, and they must be shown the specific means of applying and respecting the law, and how to contribute to the strengthening of socialist legalities and order and discipline in social affairs.

With regards to the ways and means of achieving these educational activities in the spirit of the Code of Socialist Ethics and Equality, as well as the legal education activities, as carried out by the UCY organizations, it can be said that there already exists and is operating a broad system of political-educational forms that have been proven efficient of recent years. The adoption of the Communist Code for Work and Life naturally led to the elaboration of a broad unified program of political-ideological measures within the framework of the UCY regarding the education of young people in the spirit of the work and living norms of communists. The inclusion of a special chapter within the UCY Statute regarding the education of young people in the spirit of the Ethics Code and the organization of certain periodic actions of great audience within the ranks of the young people under the generic of "Let us live and work in the communist image!" led to the formalization of its own framework for organizing and carrying out young people's work and lives in the spirit of the Code of the Principles and Norms for Communists' Work and Lives and for Socialist Ethics and Equality.

The creation of groups for the discussion of problems of ethics and legislation, within which young people discover and master their civic charter, their rights and their obligations in society, the speeches on subjects that are specific to young people, the competitions on legislative subjects, the publication of brochures and handouts, in cooperation with the organs of justice and the prosecutor's office, regarding legal topics that deal with young people, the study of certain topics of an educational nature within the political-ideological training framework of the UCY, the discussions within the general assemblies of the UCY, the presentation of certain normative acts on street bulletin boards, and so forth, these are efficient ways and means already dedicated to this topic within the activities of the UCY organizations.

The effective help for young people with reprobable behaviors and their assignment into the middle of certain groups of young people having experience, a good professional training and the necessary tact for combining educational guidance measures with organizational measures represents an important premise in the successful recovery and re-education process.

Matei Simandan is correct when he points out that in the youth organizations where there was a permanent concern for the elimination of routine educational methods and for the carrying out of certain systematic educational actions good results have been obtained. As has been observed in practice, when young people who serve out a non-confinement punishment were given trust and the opportunity to carry out a useful activity, with some of them being good craftsmen, and work within their skill, their re-education and recovery occurred more quickly.

The efficient operation of the social education and recovery system for minors and young people who are guilty of violating the regulations on behavior requires, as a result, the elimination of shortcomings, the overcoming of difficulties that still exist in the activities of certain young work collectives and the better coordination of the actions of the diverse organs that work towards the achievement and success of this process. In this direction, the granting of a broad range of rights and obligations to the youth organs and organizations in the socialist units and schools must, however, also be accompanied by a complex training program for the youth and the young people involved in the guidance and supervision collectives, which will also involve the participation of lawyers, psychologists, sociologists, educational specialists and so forth.

The entire legal education activity carried out by the UCY organizations and the cooperation in the achievement of this activity with the other authorities in the field is not, certainly, an end unto itself, with it being subordinated to the implementation of the fundamental tasks of the youth organizations and to the mobilization of young people to carry out their tasks at each place of work.

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CONTINUITY OF PRESENCE OF ROMANIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 82 pp 21-24

[Article by Dr Radu Popa: "Romanian Continuity in Transylvania"]

[Text] Their Daco-Roman origin and the continuity of their settlement of their ancestral regions are fundamental characteristics of the Romanian people. Clear determination of them on the basis of many and varied documents and proofs of the past is of great fundamental importance both in forming the patriotic socialist consciousness of the workers in Romania and for combatting errors or distortions of Romanian history that have passed into a number of foreign works. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the recent Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee, "The facts prove that the migrant peoples and those who settled this part of Europe toward the end of the first millennium found here a higher material and cultural civilization which they assimilated. We can say on the basis of the historical facts that the Romanian people was formed over the millenia in the Carpatho-Danubian area and that every meter of land and every stone are soaked in the sweat and blood of our ancestors. Our forefathers did not abandon the land of their birth in the hardest times but grew to love it, to love its mountains and plains and its magnificent rivers and forests, and they remained steadfastly in these regions defending their lives and their right to a free existence."

The period of the 9th to the 13th centuries had a special character and significance for the history of the Romanian territories in the Carpathians, territories identified with Transylvania in the broader sense of the historical-geographic sense of the term, including the Banat, Crisana and Maramures. From the start of the Middle Ages in Eastern Europe, those centuries were the time of the last ethnodemographic reorganizations and combinations, when the last waves of migrants came in there, some of whom were ethnically assimilated and disappeared from the historical scene almost without a trace while others benefited by favorable conditions and preserved their distinctive ethnic traits, which determine the character of some nations existing today. Most of the medieval states on that part of the continent also appeared in those centuries.

Reconstruction of the historical circumstances in the centuries around the year 1000 is also particularly important from the standpoint of Romanian continuity

in Transylvania, because those circumstances were the third and also the last stage in a long process of ethnic evolution. The first stage in this process was in the first to the third centuries A.D. and consisted of the Thraco-Geto-Dacian continuity in the Roman provinces of the Lower Danube and especially in the province of Dacia, while communities of free Dacians in the territories around that province were maintained in a complex system of relations with the Roman world. The third stage in the process was the Daco-Roman continuity in the territories north of the Danube and in the Carpathians after the withdrawal of the Roman Empire's political, administrative and military authorities from there and the subsequent withdrawal of those of the Roman-Byzantine Empire. It was also marked by the territorial expansion and gradual standardization of the Romanization process, which was intensified by the spread of Christianity.

The third stage in this process consisted of the transformation of that Daco-Roman society into a Romanian society in the fourth to the sixth centuries throughout the whole area where Romanians are attested by the medieval sources, from the northern Carpathians down to the Balkans. This transformation was completed in the historical context of the second part of the period of migrations.

This brief historical outline, intended to bring out the particular nature of the period between the 9th and 13th centuries in Romanian history, does not pertain solely to the Romanian territories within the Carpathian arc. It applies equally to the territories south or east of the Carpathians, as well as those between the Danube and the Black Sea. Yet there are also some differences that justify a regional approach to the subject, limited to shorter periods of time and certain parts of the Romanian territory.

On the one hand, when the last migrants founded some medieval states in the immediate vicinity of the Romanian territories and later when the authority of such states was gradually extended over the territories inhabited by Romanians for varying periods of time, the subsequent rate of development was affected. The evolution of Romanian society, which had been generally uniform and comparable in rate from the 8th to the 10th centuries, began to show some differences in favor of the Carpathian territories. These differences became particularly apparent in the 12th and 13th centuries and were to persist throughout the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, from the standpoint of Romanian continuity the regions within the Carpathian arc were emphasized earlier and more consistently in the foreign literature and then in the endeavors of the Romanian teachers than the regions outside the Carpathians. Actually investigation of the problem and discussions of it were often confined to the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, which we know today by the historical name of Transylvania.

It should hardly be necessary to remind even those less familiar with the subject that the so-called problem of Romanian continuity in Transylvania did not arise until relatively recently, only in the last two centuries. Insofar as a whole chapter of historiography can be summed up or outlined in its general characteristics, let us remember that the Romanian ethnic character of the vast majority of the Transylvanian population and the age-old continuity of that population were too obvious for such truths to be contested and discussed, just as it could not have occurred to anyone to question Romanian continuity in the former feudal principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia as a controversial problem.

But such a problem arose in Transylvania at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century when some researchers connected with the Habsburg Empire's interests began trying to find ideological and historical arguments to justify on that ground the sometimes bloody repressions that were directed against the Romanians' expressions of their national consciousness and their efforts toward national and social emancipation. Until then neither the historians nor the medieval chroniclers or other written sources nor the historical consciousness of the Romanian people or of the coexisting or neighboring peoples ever questioned or could question the Romanic character of the Romanians and their historical continuity in the territories they inhabited. On the contrary, a large number of witnesses of the most varied origins recorded those facts.

Whether or not he acknowledges the existence of such a problem and regardless of his opinions about it, no historian can overlook the motives for raising this question in the technical literature or the interests other than those of scientific research that fostered and sometimes aggravated the conflicting opinions and discussions. It is no secret to anyone that the more recent or even very recent ventilation of the so-called "problem" of Romanian continuity in the Romanian people's Carpathian territories is not due to any foreign historians' or journalists' thirst for knowledge but has quite different purposes.

But it is equally certain that today historical research has an incomparably broader documentary base than it had when the problem of the Romanian people's origin and their continuity in Transylvania arose, although the few written sources the 19th century scholars used in their arguments were supplemented by sufficient written information. The auxiliary sciences of history enlarged the field of reconstruction and in the last decades especially archeology incomparably increased the amount of evidence with which the past of the Carpathian Romanian territories could be reconstructed in the period before reproduction of the information in chronicles and written documents. Anticipating the new proofs that Romanian archeological research has contributed in the last three decades, it may be said that this evidence is sufficient to convince those in good faith of the historical facts, or to discourage those in less good faith from contesting the continuity of the Romanian presence in the Carpathian territories.

The level historical research has reached today, as well as the prospects opened up by interdisciplinary studies, justify the assertion that modern archeology can answer the questions (even those posed in bad faith by the promoters of the artificially created "problems" or by those with preconceived ideas) about the formation of the Romanian people and language and the continuity of historical evolution in all the Romanian territories. Having its methods that have been verified for a long time as well as methods recently perfected by applications of modern technology, and in view of the practically inexhaustible amount of material evidence preserved in the ground, archeology actually has unlimited possibilities for determining the past in its various aspects including the ethno-demographic ones and also for reconstructing the historical processes. But the conclusive force of the archeological sources and the certainty of the conclusions based upon the archeological evidence are strictly determined by the extent of the effort and no less by the quality of the forces engaged in research. It could be said that the scepticism of some scientists as to how far the archeological evidence can be conclusive or the reluctance of others to accept the conclusions of archeological research when not explained on extrascientific grounds

are due to the fact that the effort in this direction is not yet in keeping with the difficulty of the questions to which answers are awaited.

While the historical reconstruction of some periods of the past for which written information is entirely lacking may be questioned by those unfamiliar with the methods and strictness of some specialized branches of historical research like archeology and ethnosociology, determination of the period of the 9th to the 13th century A.D. is in the nature of a study based on several categories of sources. It is a study wherein the archeological investigation plays the main part but it does not dispense with the written sources, and the results can be verified by means of the latter.

Thus the chancellery documents of the 13th and 14th centuries attest and permit very precise location of a great many rural Romanian communities throughout Transylvania, some religious centers of the Romanians belonging to the Eastern Church, and some independent social-political units headed by voievods and princes belonging to the feudal sector of Romanian society. Such evidence applies to practically all the subdivisions of the variegated territory of Transylvania, but it is concentrated particularly within the historical "countries" in the Carpathian Romanian territories, in the depressions of the mountain chain and in the upper valleys of almost all the important rivers flowing out of the Carpathians. These "countries" actually comprised more than half the area of Transylvania, and according to the clear and unequivocal evidence of the chancellery documents of the 13th and 14th centuries, their Romanian population was homogeneous and dense at the time, barely colored at some points by a few settlements of Hungarian or German Catholic colonists encouraged and helped to settle in these Romanian areas by the Arpadian kings so that they could be included in the new administrative and political arrangements promoted by the medieval Hungarian kingdom.

Archeological investigation of these areas and proof by the evidence preserved in the ground that the respective settlements and monuments (village precincts, cemeteries, court churches, fortifications or feudal residences), also mentioned by documents as belonging to the medieval Romanian communities in the 13th and 14th centuries, were of much greater antiquity in stable forms are important steps in demonstrating Romanian continuity in Transylvania.

Almost without exception the material proofs discovered by archeology in the Romanian complexes proved to be a few centuries earlier than the dates of their first mention in the documents. For instance at Sarasau in the heart of historic Maramures the Romanian village mentioned by the chancellery documents from 1345 on had a lengthy previous evolution at the place called Zapodie, a few hundred meters from the present center of the locality. This evolution went on for several centuries before 1345 and left traces on the land of many houses rebuilt from one generation to another within an area of about 20 hectares. In another part of Maramures, at Bogdan Voda, which bore the old name of Cuhea until a few years ago (a village attested by the documents from 1353 on as a residence of one of the Romanian voievodal families that ruled Tara Maramuresului), the archeological excavations revealed the remains, at least 150 years older, of the cemetery at the site and around the chapel of the Bogdanesti family. The residence of Voievod Bogdan, the future prince of Moldavia, was also discovered at Cuhea, which residence had an earlier phase in the 13th century.

In western Transylvania, in the Plopi Mountains in northern Bihor, the complex of ruins at Voivozi in Popești Commune is not mentioned in the documents until 1391 as the religious center of the Romanian villages in the area but it has revealed many materials dating from the 12th and 13th centuries as well as the entire 14th century, thus recording beginnings one and a half centuries earlier than the date of the written source. Nearly four centuries elapsed between the archeologically dated beginnings of the prince's court chapel in Streisengeorgiu (Calan city) in the Hunedoara regions in southern Transylvania and 1377, the date of the first document that refers to the village and the family of Romanian princes that belonged to the upper social-political class of Tara Hategului. There are graves from the 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th centuries around the monument, while the cemetery has been in continuous use to this day. For Streisengeorgiu the four centuries of "silence" of the sources meant a continuity of life outside the focus of the written documents, during which time a first monument of wood was replaced about 1130-1140 by a stone and brick house that was redecorated in 1313-1314 with mural paintings and is mentioned in an inscription discovered on the walls of the monument in the course of the investigations. The inscription mentions Prince Balea, the priest Nanes and the painter Teofil.

This brief account of such discoveries could go on to illustrate similar situations in other "countries" throughout Transylvania. Many studies are under way and many of the findings are not yet published or have been communicated only orally in summary form, sometimes as preliminary reports, and we shall return to the latter point below. At any rate, the direct result of these studies is the definite refutation and rejection of that fiction very stubbornly created in the last century by a certain historiography and still conveyed by some contemporary publications to the effect that Romanian society about 1220-1230 had no stable settlements and was represented in those years by small groups that had just arrived, by obscure routes, north of the Lower Danube and in the Carpathian Basin, where they allegedly derived the basic local structures of that society from other models of medieval organization.

But as a rule the settlements did not regularly develop in the same places, within limited areas or with the very rigid borders of the village centers.* In fact for the entire continent, settlements that would develop from the end of ancient times well into the Middle Ages at a single center in the sense of continuous habitation simplistically speaking are exceptional, and even in such exceptional cases heated discussions go on today among specialists as to whether uninterrupted use of a given place (the area within the walls of an ancient city for example) does mean continuous habitation by the same ethnic element.

Today we have a great many discoveries pertaining to the 9th to the 13th centuries in Transylvania. Some of them consist of rather large complexes, whole cemeteries or large parts of cemeteries, groups of dwellings that belonged to a settlement, or earthwork fortifications, but most of them are only fragments of material evidence resulting from chance discoveries, soundings or small-scale excavations. With very few exceptions their scientific exploitation and circulation are confined for the time being to communications and preliminary reports illustrating a stage or procedures that are inadequate in comparison with the methods and standards customary for archeological research today. The system

*Throughout the millennium that preceded the appearance of the written sources permitting certain location, identification and ethnic attribution of the material evidence of Transylvanian life.

is still followed of publishing syntheses before adequate publication, in keeping with current standards, of the material evidence upon which those syntheses are based, and sometimes said evidence remains unpublished and in storage at worksites and in museums.

It is more than clear that the eastern Carpathian Basin, namely Transylvania, was inhabited continuously from ancient times to the period when the Romanian villages are attested there, and that there were no population "gaps." All authors are also agreed that at the beginning of the Middle Ages the population was sparse, as on the rest of the continent, and probably amounted to only 10-20 percent of the present population. It was scattered over small villages resembling the hamlets of today, with regional concentrations making some areas appear extremely underpopulated.

The figures tell us that the Romanians were unquestionably in the majority of the Transylvanian population in the 9th-12th centuries too. The written sources also record the fact that in addition to Romanians, Transylvania of those centuries was also inhabited by late Slavic communities, Hungarian communities that became sedentary by the end of the 10th century in western Transylvania especially, and later by Szekler communities that gradually shifted from west to east on Transylvanian territory and groups of Petchenegs and Kumans who were gradually assimilated in the Hungarian or Romanian environment, while the first Saxon communities began to appear in the 12th century. These facts are reflected in the place names. Archeological investigation of the history of the Transylvanian Romanians in the 9th to the 13th centuries (and no other approach is conceivable today regardless of the contribution of the allied sciences) must be coordinated with study of the evidence left by the other ethnic communities. Actually it is a matter of complete reconstruction of Transylvanian history in the broader framework of Romanian history, and all data from these centuries, including those not directly related to the Romanian communities, are interdependent and contribute to knowledge when they are thoroughly studied and interpreted without preconceived ideas and especially when they are published systematically and entirely.

The written records referring to the Transylvanian Romanians and their state structures at the turn of the 9th century and those referring to events in the 11th and 12th centuries recorded by chroniclers shortly after they occurred are most valuable for the nation's history. They were basic to the reconstructions of this period in Romanian historiography over the last two centuries. Not much has been done in order to place this testimony in a context of material evidence that will make it more consistent, detailed and conclusive. Not very long ago the history of the Moravian state in the 9th century was also based upon some accounts in the contemporary western sources or upon traditions and later reports, and it was subject to scientific dispute, differing opinions or denials that were sometimes due to motivations other than scientific ones and sometimes to incomplete documentation. Meanwhile intensive and wide-scale archeological investigations that lasted for decades and are still going on today have brought to light a great deal of material evidence, remains of monuments that have disappeared and dwelling complexes, which were given proper international scientific circulation and now constitute a chapter of history wherein the discussions no longer concern the basis but only the details of the interpretations.

The Romanian school of medieval archeology was developed later, not until 30 years ago, but it has produced many similar results. Perhaps more than in other fields progress is not to be expected of chance discoveries of sensational finds like, for example, the chapels and graves of the voievods mentioned by sources around 900, but from very careful and extensive excavations requiring time and effort in keeping with the importance of the expected results. We also note that among the social sciences archeology is in the privileged position of being also a producer of material values, since the actual value of the material it adds to the national heritage far exceeds the resources used for studies.

Even if the idea is not generally accepted and the comparison may seem forced, it should also be said that to some extent principles somewhat similar to those that operate in material production of goods apply to the end result and exploitation of archeological investigation. An investigation whose results remain with its author or are circulated selectively and incompletely within a circle somehow inclined to accept the conclusions even before the evidence is presented resembles a product remaining in the producer's warehouse. Exploitation of a study means complete publication of the material evidence discovered according to the rules and principles in international use today, which will give those interested access to the documentation, arguments, and verifications. Secondly, it means publication of the historical interpretations and conclusions in monographs with the widest possible international circulation, to be confronted with more exacting and demanding expert criticism in countries with old traditions in the field than in Romania, since that is the natural way for them to be accepted and integrated in foreign historiography.

Of course it is customary to publish preliminary or partial studies in the course of an investigation, but they are primarily in the nature of working hypotheses and it should not be surprising if they are not immediately and unanimously accepted. Publication of archeological finds resulting from continuous and long-term basic research up to current standards is the main way to establish the results and conclusions of Romanian medieval archeology on the problem of continuity internationally, even if it does not appear immediately effective.

For all the other neo-Latin peoples of Europe, who did not take part in the migrations at the end of the ancient period and the beginning of the Middle Ages and who were overrun by various migrant peoples, there was never any need of demonstrating their historical origins and continuity in the territories they inhabited in the Middle Ages and which they occupy today.

Of course the difference in the efforts to develop the various national historiographies is to be explained by the fact that in other places the disputes were of a different nature and especially the fact that due to the historical circumstances the series of written historical sources of western and southern Europe are continuous and far more detailed. The documents from the 9th and 10th centuries concerning extensive areas of the Carolingian Empire permit reconstruction down to the individually identified and located village or down to the individual specified by name and origin. The western sources on the 11th and 12th centuries include detailed information on some points that are unknown for the 15th and 16th centuries in the historiography of Romania and other eastern European countries. That is also why archeological investigation of the period after the 8th century in some western countries is primarily in the nature of history of art and architecture or specialized aspects of medieval history like

like the habitat and alimentation and does not concern itself with questions of the ethnic affiliation of the finds.

Viewing matters from the standpoint of archeology and knowing its possibilities, I do not think the task of "proving" Romanian continuity is properly defined, because archeologically and so also historically the continuity is too obvious to be a "problem" any longer. On the other hand, while Romanian historiography does not have to prove Romanian continuity or convince others of it, it is obligated to determine, by means of archeological investigation, the past of the Romanian people and their territories very accurately and in increasing detail in the long period before the reproduction of written information. The task is to study the data from every century in question, data illustrating all categories of archeological monuments of this period and covering all historical-geographic subdivisions of the territory in their distribution. This material evidence must be placed in scientific circulation by its complete publication and made available to those interested in Romania and other countries alike. As a result of such activity, conducted at length and supported by adequate resources, Romanian continuity will no longer have to be demonstrated to anyone because it will follow automatically in a natural way.

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PARTY POLICY ON MINORITY RIGHTS HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 82 pp 39-41

/Article by Buia Simion: "Equal Rights As a Corollary of the RCP Policy to Solve the Minorities Problem"/

/Text/ The RCP policy to solve the minorities problem in the spirit of fully equal rights has produced tangible results in the years of socialism. The Cluj jurist Imre Miko, who died 5 years ago, wrote a great many articles and studies about this policy that were published from time to time in various technical journals and publications. Collected in a Festschrift*, they eloquently present the possibilities of full assertion of the national minorities in the social and political affairs of socialist Romania and their cultural self-fulfillment without discrimination, free, unrestricted and in close unity and friendly collaboration with the Romanian people.

Addressed to a wide public, including that abroad, Imre Miko's essays were written in the fertile and ebullient creative climate inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress and were theoretically supported by the program's principle deeply rooted in the realities of Romania today and clearly stipulating that "The minorities will long continue to exist in the periods of both socialist and communist construction, and this will require a continuing effort to secure fully equal rights and conditions for unrestricted advancement of every minority without discrimination." In this light, Imre Miko brought out the profoundly democratic character of the legal regulations in socialist Romania on the minorities' rights, also pointing out that the relations among the ethnic groups are components of social relations and consequently change with them. It is the important task of the legal-legislative system to keep pace with social emancipation and the changing times by constantly providing a correct and principled correlation between the rights of the nation as a whole and those granted the minorities.

As Erno Gall points out in his introductory study, the policy of the Hungarian Party in Romania between the wars was not constructive, "wavering for two decades between passiveness and a one-sided irredentist position, being neither able nor inclined to coordinate its aims with the program or procedure of our democracy."

*Imre Miko, "Valtozatok egy temara (Variations on a Theme)," Tanulmanyok, Gall Erno bevezeto tanulmanyaval, Kriterion Publishing House, 1981.

It is well known that the leftist forces in Romania, especially the communists, and the MADOSZ would have welcomed the suggestion of linking the problems of minority rights with the Romanian masses' revolutionary claims and the struggle for democratic social reform of the whole nation, but the exponents of the Hungarian bourgeoisie rejected any such alliance. They tried to tie the fate of the Hungarians in Romania to the revisionist policy of the counterrevolutionary regime established by Horthy in Hungary (a regime manipulated primarily by Italian fascism and later by Hitlerite fascism) in pursuance of the expansionist aims of starting World War II.

Taking a critical view of such a policy and pointing out that for the present the social-political conditions in Romania had changed radically, Imre Miko demonstrated that in the Romanian socialist system legal cognizance of the Hungarian minority could not be a factor for separation but one for rapprochement with the Romanian people, a bond of constructive work of all citizens of our common fatherland. All citizens' equality is consistently assured in socialist Romania without distinction of nationality, race or religion in all walks of life, and any restriction or discrimination in law enforcement is prohibited. The author examined the minorities' political, economic, social and cultural rights in detail, convinced that sound knowledge and awareness of them develops and consolidates the political-civic consciousness of the Hungarians in Romania. The author felt that a clear and complete view of the legal-legislative guarantees of fully equal rights can further strengthen the cohesion and friendly collaboration of the Hungarian minority with the Romanian people.

In Imre Miko's studies coexistence, collaboration and identity of basic aims and interests are a perennial characteristic of the common history of the inhabitants of those regions regardless of nationality. The author frequently cites facts from the past, social movements and struggles wherein Romanians and Hungarians were always on the same side of the barricade, facing together either their foreign enemies including the Ottoman invaders or the internal exploiting, oppressive and reactionary forces, adversaries of the freedom of the masses, democracy and social progress. He pointed out that the historians have the duty to contribute by their studies and works to the most objective knowledge possible of these constructive deeds of the Romanian and Hungarian and other peoples, who created together and in good will all the material and cultural values in their common fatherland, toward which they bear profound feelings of loyalty and devotion.

In his essay "The Common Fatherland and the Past of the Minorities," the author opposes the falsification of history and requests study and emphasis upon all that has been contributing to consolidation of friendship and collaboration among workers of all nationalities in Romania. Miko wrote, "We have what he cites from Dozsa to Horea and in the period after him. There are enough facts worthy to concern not only the writers and artists who reflect the past in transfigured form but also the cultivators of the profession of historian, and all contribute to formation of the consciousness," pointing out that in the social revolutions the "humble and oppressed" have always fought together regardless of nationality. "All intellectuals of the common fatherland (and more and more people are becoming intellectuals as socialist construction progresses) must know the past, the common past that is a bond for us, and the historical problems of each one at least in general. We have no reason to follow shallow

cliches or to forge false ties where none exist. Our historical reality is so rich that it provides of itself... all that strengthens the friendship among the workers in Romania."

The work refers among other things to the publication OSSZEHASONLITO IRODALOM TORTENETI LAPOK (STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF LITERATURE), founded in Cluj by Samuel Brassai and Hugo Meltzl in 1877 and published in several languages including Romanian under the motto that peoples need a constant cultural rapprochement to achieve the ideal of mutually advantageous friendship and cooperation. Important Romanian cultural personalities contributed to this polyglot journal. It published Vasile Alecsandri's poem about Latin origins /ainta/ and Petre Dulfu's translations intended to strengthen Romanian-Hungarian friendship at a time when the Hall of Parliament in Budapest resounded with heated polemics about the priority of languages, occasioned by the bill on public education. The author also mentions Gregoriu Silasi, professor of Romanian language and literature at Cluj University, who published Romanian folk songs in the journal, accompanied by translations of them into Hungarian, German and English.

In his essay "Forum of Common Traditions" Imre Miko says that in 1924 Sextil Puscariu published the monthly CULTURA with Lucian Blaga and Gyorgy Kristof on its editorial board and many Romanian, Hungarian and German writers among its founders and contributors. Along with the translations, every contributor also wrote in his mother tongue. It published the historical studies of the common past by Nicolae Iorga, Arpad Budav, Ion Lupas and Friedrich Teutsch, Janos Karacsony's study of the Romanians' and Hungarians' common struggle against the Ottoman power, Gheorghe Popovici's reflections on the "demolition of the walls separating the nationalities," and Janos Seprodi's comparative studies on Ady and Goga. Bela Bartok's art was cited in the journal as a very constructive factor for consolidating Hungarian-Romanian friendship, since the composer was an enthusiastic student of Romanian folklore and enhanced its world reknown.

The excellent translation into Romanian of five poems of Endre Ady, the Hungarian bard from Ciucea, were included in the same connection and accompanied by an introduction wherein Octavian Goga describes him as "a revolutionary poet with a sound intellect." CULTURA, published by Sextil Puscariu, was noted for reciprocal translations from the literary works of Romanians and Hungarians. Creations of Caragiale and Agirbiceanu were translated into Hungarian, those of Cezar Petrescu and Sadoveanu into German, and of course there were also Romanian translations from works representative of the Hungarian writers in Romania.

Miko's book includes two studies of some intellectual predecessors who militated in their time for the minorities' rights, disseminating progressive democratic ideas. One is Vasile Goldis, a figure of great merit in the action to unite Transylvania with Romania, author of the proclamation of 2 October 1918 claiming self-determination for the Romanians in Hungary, and the man who read the act of unification at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918 and then brought the unanimously approved document to Budapest. In recalling the merits of Vasile Goldis in his long and persevering struggle for the Transylvanian Romanians' rights, Miko also notes the fact that in his historical studies the Romanian militant treated the Hungarians' radical progressive movements with understanding and sympathy (dedicating, among other things, one work to Lajos Kossuth's memory) and showed a consistently democratic attitude after the unification as well, militating for

the minorities' rights. The book also describes Lajos Mocsary's efforts on behalf of the Transylvanian Romanians. The Hungarian politician, known for his realism concerning the minorities problem, was sent to parliament in Budapest by the Romanian National Party in 1888 as deputy of the Transylvanian Romanians. He showed himself worthy of this trust, proving his democratic convictions by many actions including condemnation of the Hungarianization policy in schools and cultural institutions.

The studies should also be mentioned in which Miko treats problems concerning use of the mother tongue and bilingualism. He accords a high and distinct esteem to the Constitution of The Socialist Republic of Romania, which establishes and guarantees de facto the right to use the mother tongue, especially in public administration, before the courts, in schools of all levels, in the press and in cultural-artistic activity.

Realizing that unrestricted use of the mother tongue plays a vital part in the existence and continued existence of a nationality, Miko also advocates bilingualism as a factor for mutual knowledge, mutual respect and collaboration in the socioeconomic, political and cultural affairs of socialist Romania. Now bilingualism is becoming commonplace especially among the minorities in the areas of mixed nationality. A good knowledge of Romanian is characteristic of a considerable part of the Hungarian intelligentsia in Romania. Miko says that true bilingualism does not stop at the possibility of oral communication but also requires fluent use of the language in public life and in reading and writing. The highest proficiency in another language is reached when that language is used with the same dexterity as the mother tongue in creative scientific or literary work. Knowledge of Romanian is becoming a natural necessity for anyone in Romania as a natural consequence of the needs of harmonious combination of the creative efforts of the builders of the fully developed socialist society. Imre Miko also concludes that bilingualism conforms to the concept of the new man as a member of the fully developed socialist society.

Rapprochement, brotherhood and ever closer collaboration between the Romanian people and the national minorities with full equality of rights do not lead to assimilation or amalgamation but to a harmonious structuring of the forces of socialist Romanian society. By publishing Imre Miko's studies the Kriterion Publishing House has made a valuable fund of humanistic, revolutionary ideas available to its readers as well as a useful cultural-educational tool placed in the service of brotherhood between the Romanian people and the national minorities.

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CSO: 2700/349

BRIEFS

CONGRATULATIONS SENT TO MENGISTU--To Comrade Mengistu Haile Marian, chairman of the Provincial Military Administrative Council, chairman of the Commission to Organize the Workers Party of Ethiopia and supreme commander of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia. On the 8th anniversary of the people's revolution, I have the pleasure of extending to you warm congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness and for the friendly Ethiopian people's peace, progress and prosperity, on behalf of the Romanian people and government and myself personally. I am convinced that the relations of friendship between the Socialist Republic of Romania and socialist Ethiopia will expand and deepen in the future for the benefit of the Romanian and Ethiopian peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace, cooperation and security in the world. [Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [AU140858 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 12 Sep 82 p 5]

AL-QADHDHAFI RESPONDS TO CEAUSESCU--To his excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. We want to express thanks to you for the congratulations conveyed on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the great 1 September revolution. On behalf of the people of the Arab Libyan People's Socialist Jamahiriya, we want to express our profound gratitude for your sentiments and to wish you good health and happiness, progress and prosperity for your people. [Signed] Col Mu'Ammar al-Qadhafi [Text] [AU140854 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 82 p 5]

AL-QADHDHAFI GREETES CEAUSESCU--To his excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. On the 38th anniversary of the ousting of the fascists and imperialists, I take particular pleasure in extending, on behalf of the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, most sincere congratulations and best wishes for good health and happiness and wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people. [Signed] Col Mu'Ammar al-Qadhafi [Text] [AU301306 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 82 p 5]

CEAUSESCU CABLE MPLA LEADER--To Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola-Party of Labor [MPLA], and president of the People's Republic of Angola, Luanda. The 40th anniversary of your birthday offers me the pleasant opportunity to extend warm congratulations to you, as well as best wishes for good health and happiness and for

new successes in your activity devoted to your country's socioeconomic development under conditions of peace and independence. I want to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples will constantly deepen in our mutual interests and to the benefit of peace, cooperation and respect for national independence. [Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania [Text] [AU301304 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Aug 82 p 4]

IRANIAN PRESIDENT CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU--To his excellency, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Your excellency, I want to convey congratulations on the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania. I pray to the almighty for the Romanian people's prosperity and success. [Signed] Seyyed 'Ali Khamene, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran [Text] [AU301301 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 82 p 4]

ETHIOPIAN PRESIDENT CONGRATULATES CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest. On the national day of the Socialist Republic of Romania I take great pleasure in extending warmest congratulations to you and through you to the government and the fraternal Romanian people on behalf of the government and people of socialist Ethiopia. I also want to take this opportunity to convey to you best wishes for personal well-being and wishes for prosperity to the fraternal Romanian people. [Signed] Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of the Commission for Organizing and Working People's Party of Ethiopia and chief commander of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia.

CSO: 2700/369

GENERAL REVIEWS DEDIJER'S RECENT TITO BIOGRAPHY

Belgrade VOJNO DELO in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Mar-Apr 82 pp 138-160

[Review by Col Gen Nikola Pejnovic of book "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions for a Biography of Josip Broz Tito] by Vladimir Dedijs, Liburnija of Rijeka and Mladost of Zagreb, 1981]

[Text] The book bearing the title given above was published in 1981 by Liburnija GRO [Printing Work Organization] of Rijeka and Mladost IKRO [Publishing House Work Organization] of Zagreb. The publishers' readers were Dr Rudolf Rizman, professor, of Kamnik, SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia, and Miodrag Marovic, of Kuci, Montenegro. The former of them also wrote a foreword.

Speaking in broad terms, the book contains three main parts: the author's text--477 pages, the contributions of various authors--506 pages, and documents--270 pages. The contributions were written by 38 authors, including the nominal author of the book, who accounted for about 140 of these pages, so that his share is about 617 pages of text. Several of the authors also have more than one contribution. The book consists of 22 chapters of very uneven length: from 12 to 104 pages.

By and large the material is thematically organized in sections according to two criteria: historical chronology and theoretical problem. It appears that the author has striven to fit the subject matter classified according to this latter criterion within those spans of time and parts of the book's space in which they belong most naturally by the logic of the thing. But one still has the impression that the work is considerably disjointed, conceptually discontinuous, and indeed even muddled. He has followed the same method in assigning contributions to the various chapters, striving to fit their content and character to the topics of the respective chapters. Here he had still greater difficulties than in drawing up the list of topics the book was to cover.

The part dealing with documents is given in its entirety at the end of the book, and the subject matter which is not there is included in the content of the chapters on an individual basis. By contrast with the large number of contributions of other authors in the rest of the book, the documentary sources come down to certain contributions by J. B. Tito, V. Bakaric, E. Kardelj, V. Dedijs, the Federal Commission for War Crimes, and portions of writings concerning the strategy of the NOR [National Liberation War] by K. Popovic, P. Dapcevic and N. Ljubicic.

We will not give the titles of the chapters, the headings of the individual contributions and the names of their authors because this can easily be seen from the table of contents at the end of the book.

II

The physical description of the book contains the most general data on its size and basic division into its larger components. This can serve as a starting point for further discussion and more concrete analysis, which is the only way one can reach its essential message and form an assessment of its historical, ethical, political, military and other value. In approaching this goal it is advisable, and indeed even inevitable, to dwell on two other questions which in part have to do with the systematization and structure of the book and in part concern its content, questions which do have a bearing on its essential purpose. The questions we are referring to are these: First, does the book's content fit the title of the work, and to what extent is this true, that is, to what extent are the contents as a whole or the particular component relevant to writing a biography of Tito, and second, what is the mutual relation between the contributions and the documents as two important parts of the book, and what is their value as historical sources for writing a biography of Tito, including also a reference to the authors of those contributions?

We should say first that the contents of the book are markedly out of conformity with its title and have been selected and arranged without any one criterion. The first eight chapters of the book (about 370 pages) were constructed according to a criterion which can be regarded as natural and logical and its premise is that the material is selected according to the principle of direct relevance of the events and sources to Tito's life and revolutionary activity. As to time it concerns the period before the occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II and before preparation of the armed uprising under the leadership of Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. That same or approximately the same criterion governed the organization of Chapters 14 and 15 and parts of Chapters 17 and 21 of the book, that is, "Tito's Attitude Toward Religion and Tradition," "Brotherhood and Unity as Tito's Key Ideas Which He Applied During the War," "The Original Partisan Ethic" and "Tito's Struggle Against Spheres of Interest."

The author's original text and the contributions which accompany it and illustrate it were also assigned to those chapters according to the criterion of direct relevance to Tito's activity and the subject matter's compatibility with the chapter's topic. By contrast with this procedure, the approach in the other 13 chapters is the opposite of the example given. The material in these 13 chapters (about 450 pages) might on the basis of its nature have been called "Contributions to the History of Tito's Era," but not "Contributions for a Biography of Tito." Aside from that, usually there is no formal relationship whatsoever between the topic and the author's text and the contributions which accompany it and which even differ from it completely. We will illustrate this with several examples.

The title of the 11th chapter is: "The Great Powers and Division of Yugoslavia," and among the contributions are texts entitled: "Flight From Mitrovica"

by Marijan Stilinovic; "How I Was Freed Under a Directive of Tito" by Aleksandar Rankovic; "Four-Year-Old Meri Kopinic as a Hostage" by Vjenceslav Cencic, and so on. The 16th chapter is also characteristic in this regard; it bears the title "Tito's Penetration Into Yugoslavia's Western Part." It includes some contributions which have to do with altogether different matters: "The Uprising in Vojvodina" by Jovan Veselinov; "Majevica and Birac," a narrative of Uglesa Danilovic; "The Timok Region" by Slobodan Bosiljcic; "Macedonian Mother" by Dragos Stevanovic and "Koselj the Blacksmith Under Jelovica Mountain" by Vladimir Dedijs. The treatment is similar in all the other chapters. There is no need, then, to go on illustrating and proving with examples, as anyone can easily see who reads the contents of the book. The question is what the author and editor had in mind when they took this approach and what arguments they used to justify and explain this procedure. In any case, the conception violated chronological order.

Let us note only that there are quite a few unfamiliar names among the authors of the contributions. This need not mean anything, either one way or the other, but the fact that certain names are included with a bad reputation (Andrija Hebrang, Arso Jovanovic, Aleksandar Rankovic, Svetislav Stefanovic, Sime Balen and some others), regardless of the content and quality of their contributions, cannot have an altogether neutral impact.

We have given the quantitative relationship between the part containing the documents and that containing the contributions, as two of the three large parts of the book. Judging by their mutual relationship, it turns out that the contributions are twice as long as the documents, though this numerical relation is not the real ratio, since the text of the documents is printed in very small print, and that actually more than doubles that part of the text. However, this is not of essential importance to this critical examination; the important things are the character of the two parts and the criteria by which they were classified and separated. By way of example, we will say that Vladimir Bakaric's "Diary" was included among the documents, and the "Diary" of Koca Popovic among the contributions. Dedijs's piece "Revival of the Ideas of Edvard Kocbek in Paris," though it was authored, is among the documents, while a piece of a similar kind such as "Disconnected Conversation With Peko Dapcevic About the Battle for Pljevlja" has been put among the contributions. Three authored pieces are given under the heading "Tito's War Strategy": by Koca Popovic, Peko Dapcevic and Nikola Ljubicic, and they were classified among the documents, though it is obvious that they are not documents. Moreover, these are pieces which have already been published and are not by any means "new contributions." Still less clear is why the documents of the Commission for War Crimes, which pertain only to the crimes of the 13th Handzar Division and the 7th SS Division of Volksdeutscher, have found their way into this work. The quandaries about these documents arise as to what connection they have to Tito's biography and why only these two enemy units were selected? Finally, these texts also must already have been published somewhere, and it is natural to ask whether these are also considered "new contributions"?

III

The authored part of the book, i.e., that part which Vladimir Dedijer wrote himself, comprises a third of its total size. It is natural that it deserves the greatest attention of the public and that it is the main part of the content which must be thoroughly and competently analyzed. The historical, sociological, philosophical, psychological and other aspects must be brought together and made firmly dependent on one another in approaching the work. Analyses as to the treatment of history must contain not only assessments of the accuracy with which events, the state of the facts and historical truths are portrayed, but also judgments as to whether everything the author has published is part of the subject matter of history and whether and to what extent his assertions deserve to be treated as historical sources?

Most closely bound up with this are assessments concerning the author's ethical behavior (or the ethics of his behavior) in describing the personality and career of certain figures in our history. This is an occasion when one must be quite frank in stating where the boundaries are between the personal and the social, between the private and the public, between the real and the sensationalistic, between the essential and the unimportant, between the modest and the boastful, and other categories in the domain of social-revolutionary morality and the ethical sense in general. The individualistic, and to some extent even privatized, way of going about the treatment of the career of spokesmen of the people and the revolution like Tito cannot be separated from the social commitments and philosophy of life of the originator of those undertakings, since otherwise many things must remain unclarified. Writing about someone is always to a greater or lesser degree an act of writing about one's self, even when one's own personality is not pushed into the foreground and when there is no desire to overemphasize one's own participation in historical events. It is in this sense that many authors have through their own morality, their personal view of the world and their psychological balance under the tempestuous and changeable and extremely difficult and specific conditions of the flow of history decisively influenced the method of investigation and the range of scholarly or other creations.

In the manner of a cross section of the whole, without claiming to analyze Dedijer's book exhaustively or to have rendered overall judgments which are complete, since, as we have said, they can result only from an interdisciplinary approach in the analysis, so that the book can be examined from several angles of consideration and study, we will present several very essential observations on which the character and value of this work depend in large part. We hope that our effort will not thereby be prejudiced either favorably or unfavorably.

From the methodological viewpoint the examination given above of the whole book can be useful as a general orientation in studying it, though such cross section cannot be a substitute for detailed analysis by a specialist.

1) As already stated, the book which as a whole is called "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" has three parts and three kinds of "contributions": the authored text, the contributions and the documents. There is

every indication that the authored text is the main part of "Novi prilozi ...," even though it is not formally referred to as such. The author has divided it into 22 topics, of which 8 cover the period up to World War II, and the other 14 basically concern the period of the National Liberation War. The division into chapters, as already stated, is based on two criteria, one of which is historical chronology and the other problem of theory. Topics of the first type concern the occupation of Yugoslavia and Tito's preparation of the uprising, and then there are "Tito's Penetration Into Yugoslavia's Western Part," "The March Negotiations Between the Germans and Tito," and so on, while the others have to do with problem categories, such as: "Tito's Attitude Toward Religion and Tradition," "The Original Partisan Ethic," "On Retaliation," "Tito's Charisma as a Fighter and Statesman," and so on.

The first determining qualitative characteristic of the book is that the author has approached Tito's history and his image as a man and revolutionary in a manner which basically signifies a favorable orientation and a completeness in the gathering and to some extent processing of extensive material for the biography of an individual which, taken together with all his previous writings, have not been previously achieved in our history. The sociopolitical and public dimension of Tito's personality is unified in the portrayal with his personal, private and personal life, without any sort of discontinuity whatsoever. Likewise those two dimensions do not diverge, and still less are they opposed in this strong and very human and historical figure. The struggle for the freedom of the Yugoslav peoples, for their brotherhood and unity, for defense of the Yugoslav community on a new sociopolitical, ethnic and class basis, a basis which would signify power under the hegemony of the working class, that is, power exercised by the working class itself, is the primary distinguishing characteristic of Tito's activity, which is difficult to encompass. This identifier inevitably includes many other features of his exceptional personality and values and results of his liberative and revolutionary mission which have not yet been adequately assessed. This dimension of Tito's revolutionary and political activity ranges from the resolute struggle for defense and revitalization of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, by way of the struggle to preserve the entirety and integrity of all parts of our territory, including nonrecognition of the occupiers' division and for return of the separated parts to the country, the rejection of all the maneuvers--both from the west and also from the east--to make Yugoslavia dependent and obedient, and going all the way to the struggle against division into spheres of interest and to the dramatic showdown with Stalinist hegemony, which signified a precedent in the history of socialism and in relations within the international working class movement which has not yet been sufficiently grasped. Out of these texts, regardless of the book's major weaknesses and drawbacks, there rises up a figure of mountainous strength, a figure standing high above his surroundings and the organization he was leading. A man of inexhaustible strength and determination, of unbreakable will and persistence, of great courage as a human being, as a political figure and as a military commander, one whose boldness became stronger as the situation became more dangerous, a man who in fateful moments of history became the leader of an uprising, the spokesman of the people, a talented general whose political and military strategy were the product of his own mind and of an experience and a practice unknown until that time. At the same time a broad light is cast on the

profile of a profoundly human individual, a noble comrade, friend and fellow fighter, who powerfully expressed all the virtues of his own ethos and all the features of the time in which he lived, with all the human virtues and values as well as with the shortcomings and imperfections, which are also mentioned in the book. However, in painting Tito's picture as a human being and a revolutionary the principle has not been consistently applied everywhere that one must write about historical figures with extreme responsibility, which does not alter the principle that the writing should be truthful and realistic.

Taken as a whole, a ladder of differing valuations has been used in "Novi prilozi ...," but in its method and literary treatment the text is free of empty rhetoric and pathos; it contains no glorification of a supernatural figure outside life, but there has remained a spirit of respect, of admiration but without panegyric, of devotion without awe toward Tito's figure as a human being and his patriotic, liberative and revolutionary deeds. In spite of the flaws and insufficiencies, the disjointed valuation, and especially the incomprehensible mannerisms of journalistic sensationalism, this material, taken as a whole, is nevertheless a major contribution to elucidation of Tito's personality and deeds, greater in any case than it might appear at first glance, even though in and of itself it is not in all its parts direct and relevant material concerning Tito's biography.

2) An important dimension of the ideological side of the book is the author's more or less successful attempt and effort to reckon in a historical sense with two extremist flanks in our political life and social development since the war, one of which is personified by the statist-bureaucratic orientation in social development, and the other by the multiparty, liberalistic and western orientation. Their spokesmen and representatives are Rankovic and Djilas. In this sense Tito's figure is welcome and indispensable to the author on the one hand as a pedestal from which the fight is waged and which is used as a reference point, and on the other as a value which waged a more or less successful defense against the treason and spitefulness of its "prestigious" political opponents. However, Dedijer did not have the strength to play this game effectively to the end and to bring it to its logical and true conclusion.

First of all, the author approaches the two renegades and foreign exponents with differing and in many respects unprincipled criteria and unbalanced attitudes, and this is easy to see. Whereas he deals with Rankovic and his platform on two levels: the level of political ideology (the statist bureaucrat and dogmatist) and on the level of ethics and morality, portraying him as a cruel man of boundless cunning and lacking moral scruples in the struggle for power, for prestige, and so on, he on the other hand attacks and exposes Djilas only or almost exclusively for a variety of moral breaches (retaliation, personal life, human inconstancy, a desire for fame, narcissism, pretentiousness, and so on), but he passes over his political betrayal and ideological desertion in silence or gives it too little emphasis. Aside from that Dedijer's approaches to the two men carry an excessive emotional burden of a personal note which contains his sense of disappointment, his having been personally abandoned and deceived and surprised by the action of two men whom he considered the banners of the revolution, but also personal friends whom he

had known, had been associated with and had had close relations for many years. The attitude toward them in the book smacks of something which might be called vengeful because of the author's personal expectations which were not fulfilled. This is evidence that the author has not managed to fully re-integrate his own political personality and to define a firm and clear ideological and philosophical position, and this is one of the origins of many of the flaws and all sorts of inconsistencies and indeed even errors in his book. These and many similar failures and inconsistencies have made him unsuitable for studying Tito's history objectively and on a Marxist basis in his most recent undertaking and of collecting the right material for it, which is something we will be coming back to.

3) Disorderliness and confusedness, immoderateness and arbitrariness, fuzziness and preconception, sensationalism and an indiscriminate concern with everything governed by the mildest criteria are unfortunately among the evident features of the published texts. It would take us too far if we were to prove all these attributes with illustrative quotations from the text, which in any case is not necessary, since all of these characteristics are quite visible to anyone. We will nevertheless refer at least in part to some of them out of elementary considerations.

We have already said that it is difficult in the book to distinguish what is a contribution and what is a document. Likewise one does not know why certain contributions have been given in one particular chapter rather than in some other nor why certain documents are contributions rather than the other way around. In the authored text Dedijer uses a kind of narration which in certain passages is so devoid of system that even with the greatest effort one cannot figure out how and why the author has suddenly changed not only the immediate context of the exposition, but even the topic as a whole and why in innumerable places he has gone off on remote and inexplicable digressions. For the sake of objectivity, we should also say that at the same time his manner of exposition throughout most of the text is seductively easy, lively and interesting and reveals a penetrating observer and a brave, but not always steady scholarly researcher.

The book's principal indefiniteness is the lack of criteria and principles for discriminating what concerns Tito's biography from the broad descriptions of many historical events and processes which had no direct nor indeed even remote connection to Tito except that they occurred at the time when he was alive and active. This approach would have been clear and justified if these were contributions for our history of the war and contemporary development and the times, but it is difficult to understand when the history of an individual is being written, regardless of his role and place. This kind of relativism which pays no attention to the difference and distinction between the biography of an individual and the historical chronic of a particular period of time can hardly be acceptable to anyone. However, let the professional historians have more to say about this, above all those who have been studying the history of our national liberation war. Another kind of indefiniteness and disorderliness has to do with the lack of measure and good taste in treating the private and narrowly personal affairs of people whose lives he undertakes to describe and in distinguishing what is their public activity. It is not a

question only of ethical, but also of esthetic standards and values of such points of departure as historical sources and authoritative points of support. In this Dedijer does not differ in his method and approach from Djilas, though he tries to criticize him even in this sense. For example, Djilas writes in a similar way about Cana Babovic in his book, and Dedijer writes in that same manner about Bozidar Maslaric, Mosa Pijade, Jovanka Broz, Pero Popivoda, some priest and nameless female revolutionary and about many other figures. If this is supposed to signify the characteristics of "history from below," or a knitting together of the emotional and the rational in evaluation of historical events, then it is difficult to understand the author's maxim about what is historical truth and what is political truth.

In the book the author in any case carries on a wide-ranging discussion of political and historical truths, of the theory of distance, aside from the doctrine of history from below we have mentioned. The question that arises is whether the Marxist conception of the role of the individual and of the masses of people in the creation of history and in the development of human society is not more relevant to this topic. It seems that the author needs the theory of distance to prove that to write the history of a time or of an individual one should first prepare the material and the contributions, with the proviso that all manner of things can be included among those contributions, with no particular concern or measure as to what is included. As a method it is more reminiscent of the filling of a notebook than of a scholar's systematic sorting of the material and editorial composition of a book.

As for the conception of "Novi prilozi ..." and the system governing its writing and editing, one can ask why the author included in it quite a bit that had been published previously at various times and in various places. First place among this kind of indefiniteness and arbitrariness is the use of passages of his own from previous publications, such as "Ratni dnevnik 1941-1944" [War Diary 1941-1944], "Josip Broz Tito--prilozi za biografiju" [Josip Broz Tito--Contributions for a Biography] and many others. In one place (from pages 642 to 678) he republishes all of 36 pages from "Dnevnik." The author acts similarly when he paraphrases or copies the lectures which he gave at one time at the Sorbonne and in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts or in other places. And his behavior is equally repulsive when he quotes his own various writings, such as those that appeared in BORBA when it was published in Uzice. Here it is difficult to escape the impression that the author was interested in padding out the text, was interested in dealing with himself, and perhaps even was interested in the commercial side of the undertaking.

The lowest point the author sinks to in this test is the presentation of unimportant fragments and rumors concerning certain individuals which (the rumors)--unproven, unconfirmed or bizarre in their purport--represent either half-truths or mere gossip, but in both cases they serve the purpose of tickling the curiosity of that part of the public that is least interested in history and contributions to it. To justify and explain this approach by referring to Vuk's [Vuk Karadzic's] method of historical testimony does not seem convincing. Whereas in Vuk's case it was a question of gathering and rescuing material from oblivion, in Dedijer's case it is like the journalistic sensationalism of a businessman. Among the individuals whose personal integrity is

violated or portrayed arbitrarily and unconvincingly are M. Pijade, B. Maslarić, C. Babović, A. Ranković, M. Djilas, Jovanka Broz, B. Krajer, and a goodly number of less-well-known persons both alive and dead. Since we are referring to significant figures in our revolution, they cannot be written about one-sidedly and in passing, merely with a negative sign in front of their names. Which is not to say that they should be idealized. When their historical portraits are given as a whole, and that means along with the weaknesses referred to, then their human faces will be differently perceived and their characteristics brought into balance. In part and indirectly this was also done even when the figure of Josip Broz Tito himself was involved, through several references, delicate allusions and indirect judgments, though the attempt is always made for him to defend himself, to be understood and to be more fully explained.

The contributions of many notable personalities in the book who in a way appear not only as authors of their texts, but also as mentors of a kind and indirect coauthor in everything that the author states in his own name through the length and breadth of the book, assume a special role in the light of these remarks. In this sense the book even takes on the character of an anthology. The point is that it could give the public the impression and indeed even conviction that those individuals knew in advance all that the author was writing and that in spite of the shortcomings they nevertheless agreed to participate in a kind of coproduction in creation of his "Novi prilozi...." All of this is probably not the case, or not the case with all of them, but rather they came to know the entire text as readers only after its appearance in public. If that, however, is not the case, this would mean that they even figured in a kind of reviewer's role, which is not tenable even as a hypothesis concerning the contributions as a whole. Probably this is one of the reasons why the editors and publishers were quick in giving the book the "go-ahead" and did not apply stricter criteria.

4) The book also includes questions which could have deeper purport and broader meaning insofar as they concern Tito's personality and the history of our revolution, but as interpreted by the author they have been left without real, clear, complete and unambiguous answers. We are referring to such delicate questions deserving thorough investigation right until the point when a firmer answer can be given to them, since guesses and hypotheses of all kinds could cause more harm than failing to publish them at all. The type and number of those questions that are in the book may vary for every reader depending on his personal conception of historical events. In the present essay the following hypotheses deserve attention:

i. the assertion that at the time of the Stalinist purges the Comintern sought prior permission and consent from the leadership of the national communist parties to liquidate a certain number of foreign revolutionaries in Moscow, and that means permission from the CK KPJ [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia] for the murder of officials of the Yugoslav party;

ii. Tito's neutral attitude toward Dedijer's personal drama and family tragedy after his demonstration of solidarity with Djilas. This can be broadened to the point of applying not only to Tito, but indeed to the entire political and government elite of Yugoslavia;

iii. the entangled nexus of relations involving Kopinic, Srebrenjak, Antonov, Hebrang and Krajacic and Tito's position in relation to that nexus;

iv. the nature, motives and aims of negotiations with the Germans in March 1943, which were made public through our representatives Milovan Djilas, Koca Popovic and Vladimir Velebit.

a) The hypothesis that the Comintern sought consent of the national communist parties, including the Yugoslav, or their elites, to liquidate a large number of foreign communists in the Stalinist purges in the mid-thirties has an almost loathsome effect. Up to now no story of this kind has been known or at least widely known to our public within the party and outside it, and that naturally puts a still greater responsibility on any researcher. The supposition as far as we, our central committee, are concerned, is related to Rankovic's intrigues out of rivalry aimed at compromising Tito as much as possible, specifically by endeavoring to obtain documents which supposedly would confirm Tito's supposed participation in granting such consent. This would implicitly signify a defense of Stalin and his criminal Borgian methods in the struggle for a dictatorial bureaucratic-despotic rule. The launching of that hypothesis in this manner, without firm evidence to refute it or prove it for certain and unambiguously could suggest dishonorable motives. To be sure, Dedijer comes to Tito's defense, but he does this mostly rhetorically, by and large by the method of drawing indirect moralistic conclusions. That is, he strives to refute this hypothesis or, better, this insinuation by doubting that Rankovic would commission Vinterhalter to obtain the alleged documents on this since the latter was a "liberal communist," then by citing Kopinic's statement that he had found Tito to be a noble man, and finally with Herta Has' statement that Tito could not have given alleged consents of that kind because of his moral sensitivity. Dedijer also states his own conviction that this was an attempt by the Stalinists to diminish their responsibility before the judgment of history and to discredit and blackmail by police-state methods leaders in other countries in order to obtain particular political goals in enslaving those countries. In this case the foreground is occupied neither by the Stalinists, nor by those who participated or did not participate in the granting of consent, but by the author of the book who on the basis of hearsay, without establishing in advance at least the elementary conditions that prevailed in the case, much less clarifying the entire matter, brings out in public and leaves to history grave moral and political questions that hang over us. Dedijer seems not to have been aware that launching this false supposition, in spite of the fact that it cannot be proven, plays into the hands of Stalinist forces and their allies of all kinds in our country, regardless of which side the author is inclined to and regardless of what he personally thinks. Incidentally, it is quite clear to anyone who knows anything about the morality of the Stalinist despotism and about the gentry that make up its police that no sort of consent from the foreign sections, which incidentally they looked upon as their own networks of agents, could mean anything else but throwing dust in someone's eyes. Stalin's executioners were not only unable, but did not even dare to enter into verifying the charges and verdicts rigged in advance, since they were quite aware that they were doing away with innocent people, just as was the case at the time of the notorious trials after the resolution of the Cominform. What sort of value could disagreement have had anyway with

prosecutors when one thinks of the relations that prevailed at that time between the Comintern and Stalin and the other parties and when the latter had no opportunities whatsoever to prove the opposite nor the strength to offer opposition. Which is not to say that information should be concealed and the truth should be kept from the public, but that the information should really be well-founded and the truth should be established to meet our present standards and not based on the formula "where there is smoke there is fire." So, we are not dealing here with the famous theory of distance, but with the most elementary logic of life and the moral requirement that unjustified suspicions not be spread in a search for the facts, that half-truths not be published and that rumors not be started. It is not accordingly a question of concealing facts or of making certain topics taboo, but of a circumspect attitude toward people and events and, finally, toward historical truth.

b) In the story of his own political drama and family tragedy Dedijer presents Tito's attitude and position according to the maxim, which is halfway favorable, that everything that happened to him, Dedijer, occurred against Tito's wishes. As is evident from the interpretation, it is a question, then, of some kind of neutralist position on Tito's part, a position which to a certain extent signifies indifference to the fate of his former collaborators, people who were close to him and family friends. In this Dedijer intentionally confines himself solely to the moral side of the question, leaving to one side the political, ideological and other reasons for Tito's attitude as portrayed and for that state of things. This is, among other things, the essence of the dilemma of our postwar history, which is contained in the separation or non-separation of the abstract-ideal and moralistic from the real political situation and relations, in the conception of the real world by contrast with the ideal world that surrounds us, and finally in emotions which can arouse, but cannot change real life, which is always based on the crude realities of every particular era. In politics a just position is not always the same as a position that is justified, and a justified position must always be realized by a political and military balance of power at the service of those goals which signify social progress, but never can those goals be antihuman and abstractly dogmatic.

In the history of our revolution Tito did not figure as a moral arbiter who like the religious prophets carried the scales of a nondistant justice and rendered verdicts according to his own conviction and personal conscience. His recognized or self-styled biographer will not acknowledge even now that aside from the moral reasons, there also existed real political reasons, harsh reasons of life, which always were and ever will remain the determining factors of the moral spheres and categories, though they never have been and will not be altogether separate from them. The revelation or conviction that Tito did aid and rescue Kopinic and his family, who therefore did not go through the life of Golgotha experienced by Dedijer and his family, could in fact mean something at the level of moral meditation, but they do not constitute adequate testimony for conceptualizing the totality of relations and for making relevant judgments. Everyone will note that Dedijer even today is defending and justifying in his way the political viewpoint he adopted in connection with the Djilas case and that even now he has had a difficult time grasping that political life is not the same as the imagination of idealists and of

disappointed moralistic preachers. It is as though he does not understand or does not accept that our revolution has always been threatened and is now threatened by an equal danger from the right and from the left and that that danger is directly related to the developments and currents in our political life.

Whatever the deep human sympathy and condemnation of those directly and indirectly responsible they might deserve, it cannot be reduced to explanations that it was a question of Tito's greater or lesser desire to save Dedijer as some kind of modern "prodigal son" unconnected to the processes we have mentioned. It is fair to say that Dedijer expressed with a great deal of power his understanding for what took place between his own disputes and our policy in a particular period of time, which makes it that much easier to assert that his assessments and actions, in spite of everything, have remained on the general line of our social development. In saying this we will not conceal, but nor can we prove, that Tito did feel closer to people and did find people more comprehensible and acceptable with whom in his previous career he had had the same opinions, had formed views and built up affinities, which not only does not follow from Dedijer's vision of his revolutionary image, but on the contrary does itself confirm that he also had to fight for his views and that the level of humanistic desire and human expression depended on the extent to which they were realized. In any case, we are dealing with different faces, different situations and motives that do not coincide so that a comparison cannot be made whereby one might assess Tito's actions and viewpoints of this or that kind.

c) By contrast with the question related to the tragic elimination of the leading officials of our party in the Soviet Union, which, though not on time and not fully, the public did nevertheless learn about, concerning the events involving Kerestinec, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia at the beginning of uprising, and also concerning Kopinic and Srebrenjak as agents of the Comintern and the Soviet military intelligence service, there existed incomplete versions--and differing versions still remain--leaving them as entangled and tragic events. To be sure, "Novi prilozi ..." does in good measure elucidate the nexus of these dramatic and tragic events. In that part of "Novi prilozi ..." there are several assertions whose significance is not confined to the limits of our own national history and touch upon the history of the international working class movement. One of them is the assertion that the Comintern attempted to shatter the integrity and unity of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia], and thereby supposedly the unity of the future Yugoslav state as well, not only through the secession of the Communist Party of Macedonia, but also by undertaking direct communication with a portion of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia and the local committee of Zagreb. Both things were carried out by the method of manipulating a network of agents, by recruiting people from among the leaders who would obediently carry out directives from outside and would serve the objectives of someone else. This kind of intervention of foreign factors through their network of agents had a manifold adverse effect on development of events during the time of the organized popular uprising in Croatia. This was manifested first of all in the fact that valuable and highly competent people were lost in Kerestinec, and then in the fact that a row was caused over the beginning

and forms of armed struggle, and this came down to the question of whether the struggle and resistance would be waged in the form of sabotage and underground raids or as a large-scale popular uprising in the form of partisan warfare. At the same time this shaded over into the question of whether the liberation war and revolution were to be waged in an indissoluble unity or whether the orientation was to be exclusively toward the struggle for national liberation goals, without touching upon the sociopolitical system that had existed up until that time.

The purpose of the external insistence then and later solely on national liberation goals of the struggle was to disrupt the relations between the large figures in the coalition against Hitler, but it was also manifested in differing views concerning socialist revolutions, the spread of socialism in the world and relations between socialist countries, which would be drastically confirmed somewhat later. The truth is that these and similar fundamental and overall realizations could be arrived at through the specific establishment of facts and by elucidating the role of those who participated in the events in one way or another. We also have recently heard a different version (V. Bakarić), which again is not without logic, though it cannot claim to be the final truth either.

However, Dedijer's procedural approach is such that he seems to be writing a detective novel, as though he was interested more than anything else in arousing excitement, in making things entangled, in creating enigmas, instead of describing and clarifying things on the basis of facts. The interview with Kopinic is not material for historians, but rather for writers of light novels, and the unconnected tale of Kopinic-Hebrang-Krajacic and Tito's not being informed about Hebrang's behavior is more reminiscent of the direction of detective programs than of a scholarly linking up of facts to make a specific chain of a possible historical event. If Moscow did not inform Tito about Hebrang's attitude toward the Ustashi, one of the possible questions is why Krajacic did not do so, when he also had been informed about this by Kopinic? Which leads to the second question of how it is possible that Krajacic could be silent about the entire matter even when Hebrang came to be secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia, of which Krajacic himself was also a member? Should Dedijer have left all that open and unconnected when he has been collaborating with Krajacic in this book? Or, if after all he was unable to link things together and explain them to any extent, should he have come out into the open with such a truncated and ticklish tale which can be interpreted in innumerable ways? The impression is irresistibly imposed that historical distance is not involved here, or at least that is not all that is involved, but rather a deliberate creation of intrigues or even intentional adherence to entangled situations already created in order to provide conditions for all sorts of suppositions and conclusions, including the fantastic.

It should be said that Dedijer has left the case of Hebrang in the Ustasha prison open in the sense that he has been unable to prove any of the suppositions presented with a document. This is another reason why all the rest of that text should have been filled out to an understandable and logical measure and clarity or omitted while waiting for further research and clarification.

But regardless of the justifiability of critical remarks of this kind, it is a fact, and that a fact of tremendous importance, that the published documents concerning relations between the Comintern and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia and concerning Kopinic's role in this, and also clarification of the tragic case of Kerestinec, constitute fascinating material which considerably elucidates and reveals the events and clarifies what actually happened and how. A great amount of credit is due on this head to the authors of "Novi prilozi ...": V. Dedijer and all those who helped him and wrote the contributions.

d) Chapter 20 of Dedijer's book is entitled "The March Negotiations Between the Germans and Tito." This means that the author has attributed emphatic importance to those negotiations and that he has put them on a par, as far as the name of the title goes, with the most important and decisive issues that Tito confronted in his revolutionary career. It is natural that the reader should ask what this can mean, especially when he sees that of the chapter's 52 pages 8 concern the negotiations themselves, or that of the 21 pages of the author's text only those same 8 pages concern the contacts referred to, while everything else is related to the course of the fifth enemy offensive. One thus gets the impression that Tito was toying with the idea of a separate peace with the Germans or some kind of wartime cease fire. It needs to be said that Milovan Djilas also wrote about the same problem at an earlier date in his book "Wartime," so that Dedijer is not the first to have presented this to the world public.

An interesting question is why Dedijer did not publish this in the first book of "Novi prilozi ...," since it is most likely that he knew about it even then. The reference here is not only to the eyewitness accounts from the war, but also to the study of foreign archives which he now refers to so much. In that case the entire matter would not seem to be a taboo topic, as is now the case. We learn from the German documents given in the book that along with the exchange of war prisoners and enforcement of international law concerning warfare, there was also talk about a third item. According to the German version, which one of the negotiators assessed to be tendentious and unobjective, it might be inferred that it was question of a proposal of the delegation of the Supreme Staff Headquarters of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, a proposal which in this version goes as follows:

"a) That in the present situation there is no reason why the German Wehrmacht would carry out military actions against the National Liberation Army in view of the situation, the enemy and the interests of the two sides. It would accordingly be in the mutual interest if hostilities ceased. In this connection the German command and this delegation should set forth their proposals related to possible zones and attitudes concerning economic and other affairs.

"b) The National Liberation Army regards the Chetniks as the principal enemy."

In a speech delivered at the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the battle on the Neretva, on 12 November 1978, Tito made the following declaration concerning this subject: "Three of our comrades went to the talks with their directive to talk about the exchange of prisoners, whereby our army would be

granted the status of a belligerent in the spirit of the standards of the international law governing warfare that were in effect. All we managed to do was to exchange prisoners, so that many of our comrades were rescued from the hands of the executioners and were then assigned to various units.

"I had difficulties over this with Stalin, whom I informed through the Comintern. I reported that we were exchanging prisoners with the Germans, bearing in mind among other things that we were starving to death, the people were falling dead from exhaustion. He answered me very coarsely, reproaching us for exchanging prisoners with the enemy. But with whom else were we to exchange them if not with the enemy? I briefly answered Stalin at the time: If you cannot help us, leave us alone, we will get along somehow.... However, even today there are attempts to interpret that exchange and abuse it in tendentious ways. We will write all this down just the way it was. I am convinced that there will be few who will not approve what we did at that time. It was something we had to do. We saved only some 100 of our people, good fighters and activists." (J. B. Tito--"Opštenarodna odbrana i drustvena samozastita" [Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection], Associated Publishers, 1980, pp 733 and 734)

According to Dedijer's interpretation, this might have been just a maneuver, Tito's intention to gain time, to save the wounded with negotiations about international law concerning warfare, and finally, to break up the Chetniks as the principal potential political opponent, especially when they are viewed in an alliance with the western allies.

In this chapter and concerning this problem Dedijer has also furnished certain other comments in the form of the most probable hypotheses and personal assessments. They consist of the following:

- i. the English had prepared for an invasion of Yugoslavia during 1943 in order to stifle the revolutionary movement and to safeguard the old system in the country;
- ii. aside from talks about the prisoners, the negotiations in March were not necessary. The German troops in any case had no intention to cross the Neretva in the fourth offensive. Tito supposedly declared to him in 1978 that the negotiators overstepped his authorization;
- iii. in complete secrecy the Germans had concentrated their forces and during the negotiations had surrounded the Durmitor mountain range. Our intelligence service failed utterly, and our radio traffic gave us away;
- iv. no agreement whatsoever was signed with the German representatives concerning a cease fire or truce, but only an agreement on creation of neutral territory in the Pisarevina to make it easier to exchange prisoners.

In view of the subsequent events and also the balance of power at that time, it seems that Dedijer's assessment concerning cautiousness toward a possible British invasion in Yugoslavia and the liquidation of our movement during 1943 was overheated and unrealistic. The western allies were about to invade

Italy and to remove that country from the war, and only then would it have been possible to create the conditions for a possible broader invasion of the Balkans, and all of that, it was certain, could not have been accomplished during 1943. As a matter of fact, at that time the allies had already worked out plans for that year on the basis of the possibilities of the time. It should not be forgotten that by April 1943 the British had already sent their first missions to the Supreme Staff Headquarters of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, which would have been difficult to understand if at that time they were preparing our liquidation by a military invasion. We are dealing here not only with their goodwill and mere wishes, but also with realities such as our force and the prospect it had for growing stronger, the firm collaboration between the Chetniks and the occupiers, which on the one hand exposed the Chetniks politically and on the other put them in a position where they did not heed the demands of their western patrons to participate in the fight against the occupiers. Finally, the strength of the Germans in the Balkans, which was substantial at that time, was too well known to the British for them to be able to enter into such a military escapade. It remains unclear, then, how the judgment concerning an immediate danger of a British invasion in Yugoslavia in early 1943 was arrived at.

It would be difficult for anyone who has not thoroughly and extensively studied the sources to establish anything as to whether our negotiations with the Germans lulled us and made us less vigilant toward their future military undertakings against us. However, it is beyond all doubt that serious reproaches can be addressed to our intelligence service at that time, and indeed both before and afterward, and it can be given failing grades. In that context, even aside from these events, one can emphasize our favorable experiences in view of the fact that we were waging war in our own country, that we could have had an extremely large number of sources of intelligence, but that we had not organized it properly and that in a way we had difficulty understanding, or indeed underestimated, the importance of information and intelligence data to direction and command. In part the reasons for this were military. In that war in which at the outset regular and orderly battles and operations were not conducted--they always require that one know in advance the strength of the enemy, his deployment and the makeup of his forces, the identification of his units, the quality of his troops, his intentions and plans, and so on--these data was objectively of less importance to the application of our specific art of war, since we relied more on our own objectives and procedures, on surprise, on the speed of maneuver, on changing the form of the operation, the targets of the attack, and so on. Which does not at all mean that we did not need that data and that with better information about enemy forces our actions would not have been more effective. So that that circumstance cannot be taken as a justification for errors of a subjective nature. Similar maladies and shortcomings of this kind are inherent in all liberation and people's wars, and in all their military structures, which, in the enthusiasm of the rebellion do not realize that the enemy is putting any sort of restrictions on them whatsoever as to the manner of military procedures.

In the fifth enemy offensive we were surprised with respect to the time, the size of the enemy forces, the area in which the actions were conducted, and also with respect to the conceptions and plans of his operation and the method

he was pursuing. It should be borne in mind, however, that regardless of the enemy's cleverness in waging war and the shortcomings of our own intelligence and cryptographic service, it is not particularly difficult to carry out the maneuver of using 100,000 soldiers equipped with modern transport and combat equipment to surround our relatively small groupings of 15,000 fighters additionally burdened with 4,000 wounded. The nature of the terrain and its unsuitability for rapid maneuvers are a separate question [original reads "mort-gate"--translator's note]. The natural obstacles and barriers in this case were more advantageous to the adversary, and he rather resourcefully transformed them into strong obstructive lines. Experiences of this kind are important to us not only in a historical context, but also in present-day evaluation and training, that is, in a war in which we might again find ourselves, though nevertheless in an altered form. What we did not know at that time and could not have known we made up for with an unsurpassed morality, self-sacrifice and determination, which Tito encouraged and personified, and all of this sprang up out of an awareness of the magnitude and justifiability of the goals of the struggle. This was demonstrated by the epilogue of both the fifth offensive and of our war as a whole. It should be said for the sake of objectivity that the author does not in a single word, except the passage concerning the act of the negotiations and the intelligence service, call into question our decision, battle procedures and overall actions in the fifth offensive, nor aside from description does he enter into operational-tactical or strategic analysis. In this sense the chapter does not draw the attention of criticism, which makes it even stranger and to some extent more of a riddle that its title should have referred to the talks with the Germans rather than to its essential meaning, which is usually indicated by the words "The Battle on Sutjeska."

IV

Finally, following the general picture of the book, and also after glances at some of its content and related to the criticism which has been expressed publicly, including some which was very harsh and emotional, the question must be asked as to what were the author's viewpoint and initial commitment in conceiving and carrying out "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita." Regardless of the fact that Dedijer has before now been long concerned with the history of our revolution and national liberation war and that he has been recognized as Tito's chronicler and biographer, in this work some of his ideological commitments, political views and methodological procedures have been expressed which up to now were not made evident in that way, or at least not to the same extent or in the same form. It is self-evident that this attempt is not, nor could it be, an integral and authoritative evaluation of Dedijer's personality, of his political, ideological, scholarly and other views, since we have neither the capability nor the need for anything like that on this occasion; it is a question here only of a desire to take a passing glance at some of the author's views and methods in order to grant more easily those parts of the book which are arousing the greatest criticism, different assessments, reputations, all the way to suspicious examination and assessment. In this sense it is not possible to separate the person from the work, the authorship from basic commitments in philosophy and life.

Dedijer began his career of historian, political figure, scholar, academic and public figure as a newspaperman, and that left an indelible trace on his intellect, his mind and general human profile and also on his attitude toward the world and events in it. And while he is now writing about the distant or recent historical past, he does so in the style and with the manner of a newspaper reporter and impassioned journalist. Many of his writings smack of events seen firsthand and situations experienced emotionally in which a commitment is made according to affinities for persons, events, movements, and so on. The present-day large undertaking which is called "Novi prilozi ..." and which has spread out so wide actually arose out of his "Ratni dnevnik" [War Diary], a book for which he at one time received and has lastingly retained high recognition both from our own and from the world scholarly and political public. I assume that Tito himself made a commitment as to the personality of chronicler and biographer above all on the basis of the "Dnevnik." It is well known, however, that every diary to a greater or lesser extent contains the author's personal experiences, his own views and his internal and private moods of the moment and that therefore the testimony they contain does not consist of facts which have sufficiently cooled or become objective so that they might be altogether reliable historical sources. In our context this is not a matter which is our primary concern, we are not primarily interested whether and to what extent diaries are reliable historical sources, but we are concerned with method and style, and in Dedijer's hand they have developed into something which is like a large dose of individualism and subjectivism, a large degree of preconception and self-admiration.

Journalistic descriptions of daily events on the one hand and scholarly descriptions and evaluation of historical events on the other cannot be done with the same methods and procedures, just as one cannot equate the newspaper observer and reporter with the scholarly researcher of history. With no intention of preaching, this had to be said if certain circumstances relevant to evaluating the book under discussion are to be understood. It seems that these weaknesses are important as a source of the misunderstandings that have occurred after Dedijer's most recent book appeared.

The author's intention to present the entire project personally, without relying on public entities, and not to enter into relations with any of the renowned scholarly institutions, but to be involved above all with personal collaborators, friends and acquaintances, would be hard to justify. The question is whether this yields the desired result. Judging by the statements of the author himself, and also by what is evident in the book, it turns out that we are dealing with a kind of privatization and subjectivist commitment with respect to selection of the contributions, determination of those who were to read the book, in the attitude toward certain figures in the book (sponsors, school friends, friends). In this sense one is astounded by the author's statement that he is not bound to Tito's personality by any sort of programs, but by the fact that they were wounded very close to one another, and he also asserts something similar for Djilas, who attached him to himself in that he had approved his first marriage and also on the basis of other private reasons.

In scholarly research direct personal involvement must unquestionably be fully manifested, since it is only in this way that results in scholarship can be

obtained, but precisely for that reason, especially in the case of social topics, the entire effort must be so organized as to tend toward objectivization and thereby to offer maximum opposition to subjectivism, to possible personal preconceptions and particular affinities. Scholarly meetings, professional discussions, consulting with experts, partial repetition and verification of the research, debates in public and behind closed doors, and so on, are methods which are not easy to carry out when the effort has been organized on a personal and private basis regardless of the background and capacity of the individual. This might seem like pretentious and unseemly didacticism, but the truth is that it was evoked by the author's public statements when the book came out, in which he said that in researching our history and Tito's role he did not rely on any forms or institutions whatsoever, but on friends and on his own research abilities.

Experience and indeed disappointment with statism and the bureaucratic power of the state, with positivistic methods of tailoring and retailoring history according to pragmatic political needs, and most frequently according to the imperative of the struggle for personal power, cannot on the other hand justify a commitment to individualistic philosophical doctrines and private scholarly undertakings. Between these two options there is a space for broad socialization and humanization contained in the ideas of authentic Marxism, which is neither bureaucratic autocracy, nor a disappointed return to the liberalistic free thinking of the 19th century.

Let it be said openly and without beating about the bush that the material for Tito's biography must be consistently sought and found in the material for the history of the Yugoslav revolution and always in a firm and indissoluble connection with the people, and not by individualizing that history and by recutting it idealistically. As a consequence of the method and to some extent of the general philosophical viewpoint, recurrences of those views, often even though the author does not wish it, float up to the surface.

Any analyst of any seriousness would be able to prove without great difficulties and very quickly that the author approaches a number of the problems, periods and chapters taken up in a rather strange and, it might be said, cart-before-the-horse manner: he seeks arguments and data in order to reinforce and prove his own a priori opinions and judgments, rather than drawing conclusions and scholarly judgments on the basis of "cooled" facts and by the method of analysis and synthesis of the data gathered. To be sure, this is easier said than done in the case of an individual who is not only a researcher, but was at the same time a witness, an observer, a close collaborator and personal friend of many of the figures in our history; not only is he unable to write about them altogether calmly and objectively, but he is also unable to resist the temptation to himself pass over from the position of observer and researcher into the position of an active creator of history.

When Dedijer's writings are approached from this angle, even the most well-intentioned and well-informed reader will get lost in searching for an answer to the question of whether the author is in many places writing more about himself and about events related to him or about Josip Broz Tito and what he did. There rises to the surface a syndrome of individualism, desire for

personal prominence, for his own rehabilitation and for a private conception of history, which follows the author like destiny itself and does not leave him throughout the entire second volume of "Novi prilozi...."

It is well known in history that it is not suitable for a chronicler to be either a person close to the centers of decisionmaking who has a desire for fame, nor an individual who has an inferiority complex and who is seeking personal satisfaction through history. Dedijer's theory of history "from below" and "from above," in which he appeals to Leo Tolstoy and Vuk Karadzic, is closest to serialized history, history in "fragments" in which the author supplements, corrects and collects contributions in which aside from the principal figure, he also describes himself, but always from a position in the center and "from above," so that the plebs in his history is evident only as a farce and at the service of his own apodictic pronouncements, which he defends with documents from the world's archives.

None of this applies in an absolute sense, nor equally to all parts of the book, but it is always and everywhere present "like a spirit," even when the author is absolving the tendency and effort to present certain events in a markedly favorable and constructive sense. The fact that he is burdened by his own history, which also contains personal drama, finds expression and satisfaction through Tito. Through the optic of Dedijer the author Tito's personality is manifold and complex and contains an inseparable element--a hero from a folk epic, a fiery patriot and an implacable revolutionary rebel. On that broad scale of values, aside from admiration and respect, one can also see the writer's effort to present him in an earthly way, with all his human characteristics and features, without glorification or mystification. Tito's image of a fighter, a revolutionary and a human being comes across, one might say, a bit overemphasized at certain points, which is a consequence of the author's desire and need to come to account with Tito's opponents in his own way and according to his own measure, but also within that same framework to find a remedy for his own complexes and to explain his personal dilemmas in life. That is why at the same time we encounter not only the pronounced inclination, but also the critical testimony, the unproven evaluations and at times a petty human envy. Personal judgments and one's own measure are not objective and are not consistently applied everywhere, which confirms the truth that in writing about someone else, one is at the same time writing in one's own way about one's self as well.

In short, both the reader and scholarly criticism will be surprised to see that where they expected a moderate erudite they find an author who in many places uses the method of "hearsay" concerning both important and less important events, or where they expected material measured out as in an encyclopedia, they find an all-inclusiveness beyond the limit of toleration. All the shortcomings of the book, which naturally is being subjected to very strict criteria and critical standards in the public both because of the topic it is concerned with and also because of its author, are nevertheless not such as to justify an altogether negative attitude toward it nor the making of a fuss and total suspicion, nor do they justify its being anathemized categorically.

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